

AN OUTLINE OF CHRISTIANITY:
THE STORY OF OUR CIVILIZATION

VOLUME FIVE
CHRISTIANITY TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW



MODERN COMMERCE.

By
from the Wall-painting in the Royal Exchange.)

An Outline of Christianity The Story of Our Civilization

Edited by

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IN FIVE VOLUMES

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VOLUME FIVE

CHRISTIANITY TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

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INTRODUCTION

THE WORLD TO-DAY AND YESTERDAY

BY PRINCIPAL L. P. JACKS, M.A., LL.D., D.LITT., D.D.

UNQUESTIONABLY the practice of neighbourly love exists on a large scale in the twentieth century, but not on a scale at all commensurate with the profession of it. M. Gustave Le Bon, in his recent book "The World Unbalanced," says that the great nations never hated one another as bitterly as they do to-day. I think M. Le Bon exaggerates; nevertheless there is, clearly, no love lost between the great nations, or at least between their governments, nor between the different classes, such as employers and employed, that constitute industrial society. Even if we had learnt to love each individual human being in the world as we love ourselves—which of course we are far from having done—all that would not amount to so very much if at the same time our group or mass action, in races, nations, classes and parties, were based on unneighbourly principles. We should still have wars and revolutions, and they would be all the more horrible because they would involve us in doing harm to men in the mass while loving them individually.

This state of things made the Great War so exceptionally tragic. The hatred of individual belligerents was not very strong, but the mass hatred was appalling. Vast numbers of the fighters on both sides were composed of men who, if left to themselves, would have died rather than kill an individual human being. Yet these same men killed one another *en masse* with exultation when acting officially and under the direction of the State. It looks as though individual love of one's neighbour was no protection against mass hatred. I met an American once who said to me, "I love every Englishman I come across, but I hate the English." And I have heard similar things said in England about Americans. That may be interesting

as a psychological phenomenon, but it is not Christianity. To profess ourselves Christians while our mass-relations remain in this pagan or barbaric condition is an abominable insincerity.

All Christian people to-day, whatever their particular creed may be, feel the pressure of this problem. Of course the doctrinal differences that exist are important, but most of us have come to feel that we cannot take much interest in discussing those differences while we have this weightier matter on our souls. What is the use of discussing whether your form of Christianity or mine is the right one, so long as both of us have a secret feeling that neither of us, if judged by the moral standard of our religion, has the right to call himself a Christian at all? Playing our part, as citizens of this nation or that, in a world where group relationships flout the first principles of the religion that both of us profess, and ready to become accessories, through our votes or otherwise, to unneighbourly actions based on hatred or suspicion of other groups, nothing can prevent a sense of unreality from descending into our discussions of those other matters. Both of us are clearly too wrong on the practical side, for either of us to set up a claim, against the other, to be right on the theoretical side. Let us both see what can be done to abolish this fatal discrepancy between profession and practice and then we shall be able to discuss our outstanding differences without that unpleasant secret feeling, which both of us now have, that we are humbugs. "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?"

This it is that makes it so important for all of us to study the conditions in which our common religion had its origin in the first century of our era. We shall soon find that the Christian missionaries of that age, although they used a language different from ours, were up against the very problem that is troubling ourselves. They had a remedy for these mass-hatreds in the common love of Christ. Then as now it was in essence a *social* problem to which the new religion addressed itself, and an international one at that.

The Roman Empire of that day was bringing all the nations of the then known earth into contact with one another. Great cities were growing up round the basin of the Mediterranean, and into these cities, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth and many others, there flocked men of all races, tongues and religions. Rome indeed was not unlike New York in that respect, though of course the scale was much less. Trade had developed enormously; the

empire was rich and prosperous; life and property were well secured; great roads spanned the empire in all directions and were thronged with merchants, travellers, sightseers, lecturers, philosophers, interpreters, religious enthusiasts and artisans in search of work; and in the great inns on the roads, and in the seaports, half the tongues of Babel might be heard speaking. From Britain in the West to Mesopotamia in the East, from the Rhine and the Danube on the North to Egypt in the South, that wonderful creation we call the Roman Empire imposed law and order upon a vast multitude of nations and religions, keeping the peace among them with extraordinary success, enabling them to hold free intercourse with one another and to share in the benefit of a common civilization.

Having regard to the comparative slowness of communications in those times nothing quite so wonderful in the way of political organization has ever been accomplished in the history of the world. Within its limits, and they were immensely wide limits for those ages, the Roman Empire was a veritable League of Nations. We may admire the federative capacity of the United States or marvel at the variety of races comprised within the British Empire, but after all the Romans were the pioneers who first proved that such things could be done and showed the world the way to do them. And they did so with means at their disposal which compare with the means we enjoy as a handloom compares with a textile factory, or a galley rowed with oars compares with an ocean leviathan, when printing was unknown and months might elapse before a letter from an outlying province would reach head-quarters in Rome. When we think of the unity that characterizes international relations to-day, we have no reason to be proud of ourselves.

It is only when we remember what the Roman Empire was, and what a free circulation went on from the circumference to the centre and back again, that we begin to understand the rapid spread of Christianity in the first century. Fifty years after the crucifixion of Jesus, Christians were to be found in almost every city of the Mediterranean world from the coast of Asia Minor to Spain. No doubt the Christian groups in many of these places were small, but the wide distribution of them shows what a wonderfully expansive power the new religion possessed in the earliest times. Evidently there was something in the needs of those times to which that religion brought satisfaction. With few exceptions the Gospel

seems, as we say, to have "caught on" wherever it was preached. One of the exceptions was Athens, the most brilliant and talkative city of the ancient world. We are told that Paul could make no great impression there, the reason being that the Athenians were interested in the Gospel only as something fresh to talk about and grow argumentative over—a state of things which inhibits the spread of Christianity in the modern world even more than in ancient Athens.

Along with this free circulation and intermixture of races which the Roman Empire had brought about there went a free circulation and intermixture of ideas and of religions. The process had begun in the fourth century B.C. with the conquests of Alexander the Great, which extended from Greece to India and scattered the seeds of Greek culture in every region traversed by his armies. The Empire of Alexander was cosmopolitan, and became far more so when the Romans, two centuries later, took it over and began exploiting its vast resources and knitting up its loosely jointed parts into a closer unity.

But while the effect of this, outwardly, was to put a stop to wars and bring the peoples under a more stable and orderly government than they had ever enjoyed before, the effect of it, inwardly, was to produce a great confusion of ideas and of religions. Hitherto the many religions both of East and West had been rooted to the soil on which they were born; they had flourished as national cults, stay-at-home things, each with its sacred cities and temples, where its rites were practised and its formulas spoken by priests who knew no language but their own, while the worshippers had no contact with other religions, and perhaps were unaware that they existed. But now these stay-at-home religions began to wander along the roads and the sea routes all over the face of the earth and come into contact with one another in foreign cities far removed from the seat of their native temples. Instead of the former rigidity and fixity there was now fluidity and movement. For example, there were Jewish colonies in every city of the Mediterranean; there was quite a large one in Rome at the beginning of our era. In these places the Jews, cut off from their temple worship, had to practise their religion as best they could, with the cult of Greek and Roman gods going on under their eyes, and with a score of other religions from Egypt, Persia and Babylon, filling the city with

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their processions and building their temples next door to the synagogues. A Jewish merchant taking ship at Alexandria for Italy would find among his fellow passengers people with all sorts of idols in their baggage; some would be saying their prayers to the sun, others would be burning incense to images of dogs and hawks. And what happened to the Jew happened of course reciprocally to all the others.

Under these circumstances the various religions began to lose their rigid and distinctive character; each would take what it could from the others or part with something of its own character; the genuine article became the adulterated article; the consequence being that the believer no longer had his old confidence in the power of his religion to save him from the evils of life and death. The Jew alone seems to have been able to keep himself quite aloof; but even for him his religion can hardly have been the same thing in Rome or Antioch that it had previously been in Judea. All religions were losing their connexion with their native soil. That made a great difference, the extent of which it is not easy for us to realize, brought up as most of us have been under a religion whose nature it is to be universal, world-wide and the same in one country as in another.

Now that is precisely the religion which Paul and his fellow missionaries offered to the world of their day, and it was exactly what the world of their day was ready to receive. In the general mix-up which Roman civilization had brought about the old, stable, national religions were losing their power, their authority and their prestige; and it was nothing less than a stroke of genius (we may call it inspiration) which revealed to Paul the grand opportunity for preaching a religion that had nothing to do with a man's being a Jew or a Greek or a Persian or an Egyptian, but had only to do with his being a man; a religion which could override the immense confusion of the others, and abolish them all in a higher unity where race and nationality counted for nothing. Those who accepted his Gospel were immediately lifted above the divisions which separated nation from nation, class from class, and made equal fellow citizens of a spiritual realm, a city whose foundations were in heaven, where there was neither barbarian nor Greek, circumcision nor uncircumcision, bond nor free. It was the solution of the "international problem" as it existed in those days, a League of Nations in Christ, where the ends

of law and order were secured, not by legislation and police but by the free action of the Spirit descending from the Head and permeating all the members. We may say that Paul at one stroke transfigured both the political system of Rome and the moral system of the Jews into their spiritual equivalent. As for the earthly life with its joys and sorrows, its good fortune or bad, its divisions between rich and poor, freeman and slave, all that was of little account in any case, since the true life of the believer was with Christ in the immortal world, to which every man belonged from the hour of his baptism and into the full possession of which he would enter at death.

Yet it would be anything but true to say that Paul attached no importance to "conduct" in the earthly life—to the way a man fulfilled his part as member of the State or of the family, as neighbour to others like himself. In all these relationships a man was to act as became a citizen of heaven, not indeed following any human model of virtue or regulating his action by the letter of any law, but yielding to the impulse of the spirit and thereby attaining a far higher level of purity and brotherly love than was possible by any other means. It may be, as Matthew Arnold thought, that the real power of Paul's religion lay at this point. He had found an attitude of mind which gave him, and those who followed him, a living interest in righteousness and a fellowship with the "Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness," which had been the "secret" of Jesus, and has remained ever since the real driving power of the Christian religion, no matter what form it has assumed.

The labours of Paul in preaching this Gospel, the ardour of conviction with which he preached it and the remarkable success he achieved, are alike astonishing. And our astonishment becomes almost stupefaction when we reflect that all this was accomplished *without the aid of a New Testament*. During the whole period of Paul's activity not one of our Gospels was in existence. It was not by written summaries of the ethical teaching of Jesus, such as we find in the Sermon on the Mount, nor yet by recounting the details of His earthly life, but by what He calls the message of the Cross that Paul converted the Gentiles from paganism to Christianity.

Here we touch one of the most remarkable differences between the conditions under which Christianity is preached to-day and the conditions which prevailed in the first century. For us Christianity is pre-eminently the religion of the New Testament. Imagine a

Christian missionary to-day setting out to convert the heathen without a New Testament in his baggage—or even in his memory. Yet the success of Christianity under these conditions is so well attested a fact that it becomes a problem for scholars to explain why the Gospels came to be written at all, why a book, other than the Old Testament, came to be necessary. It is a complicated question into which I do not propose to enter now. But whatever the answer to it may be, the fact remains that the first and most difficult triumphs of the Christian religion were accomplished not by expounding a book but by the inspirational force of the men who passed from city to city, aflame with a spiritual life which, to them and to those who listened to them, had the effect of transfiguring and glorifying the meaning of the world and of human existence in the world.

NAWAB SALAR JU

In the first century the chief enemies Christianity had to contend against were the pagan religions by which it was surrounded, of which there were a great number; not all of them degraded religions by any means, though some were bad enough. Some of the great mystery religions, for example, of which there were seven or eight, and of which Mithraism was the most popular, taught truths of great importance and gave both comfort and dignity to many human lives, insomuch that Paul himself did not hesitate to borrow from them at certain points. To-day also Christianity is in contact with other religions, of which some, like Buddhism, are older than itself and whose followers outnumber its own. But the densest darkness with which Christianity has to contend to-day lies, I venture to think, within its own borders and not outside. There is darkness enough outside of course, but the impression Christianity makes upon it is sadly hindered by the darkness that has been suffered to grow up among the Christian nations themselves.

What do the Christian nations to-day really believe? There are two ways of answering: first by considering what they *say*, and second by considering what they *do*. Judging by what they *say* the answer would be that the Christian nations believe in Christ. But what if we judge by what they *do*? I will give in substance the answer as it was once given to me by an enlightened Buddhist. "Judged by your actions," he said, "and by the way you live in these great cities of yours, you Christians believe in money. Money is not all you believe in of course, but there is nothing else you

believe in quite so firmly. The God of Jesus is your Sunday God ; but on weekdays you worship Mammon. You look upon the universe as containing an infinite number of potential dollars or pounds sterling and the business of your lives is to turn those potential dollars or pounds into real ones. You do not really believe in the ultimate worthwhileness of anything else. Your great nations are great organizations, not for serving God, but for exploiting the universe; and since you cannot help getting in one another's way you learn to hate one another and go to war."

Perhaps my Buddhist friend put the matter too strongly; but he was not far wrong, especially when he said that while of course the Christian nations believe in other things there is none in which they believe *quite so firmly* as in this. Their other beliefs waver and change—but this one is pretty constant, much the same in all countries, and always followed by the same effects—namely discontent, ill-will, and a general feeling that human life is a rather sordid and unsatisfactory affair. From this cause, too, proceed the whole crop of unneighbourly mass-actions which bring discredit on the Christian religion and cause its enemies—and some of its friends also—to declare that it has failed.

If Christianity ever recovers the vigour it had in the first century it will fling itself against this belief in money with an ardour like that of Paul when he attacked the pagan cults of his day. It will be a terrible struggle and will call, just as in the old days, for heroic men and women to take their lives in their hands and care nothing for what happens to themselves. But the weapons of their warfare will be the same which enabled Paul and his companions to "cast down the strongholds" that opposed them in the first century, not carnal weapons but spiritual. These heroic persons will not be mere fine talkers about religion, any more than he was—for he had a great contempt for that sort of thing. They will be men and women who have seen, as he saw under different circumstances, that this world of money-making in which we are all immersed is not the real world but only the *half-real*; that men in their true nature are citizens of a vaster commonwealth, of which the greatest nation on earth is no more than a symbol; that the citizenship of us all is in heaven, and that no earthly citizenship can be rightly fulfilled until its principles are drawn from the Eternal City of God, where there is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Greek, bond nor free.

BOOK I

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE MODERN WORLD

After following the story of Christianity and the vital part it has so far played in our civilization, we now turn to the situation of the present and to the possibilities of the future. Individuals, communities, nations, races, Churches are facing problems of the first magnitude everywhere. And first, the basis on which the entire fabric of society is reared is that of a man's relations with his neighbours and his wife within his home.

Chapter I. MY NEIGHBOUR AND I

II. THE TREND OF FAMILY LIFE

III. WOMEN'S PLACE IN THE CHRISTIAN WORLD TO-DAY

IV. THE CHRISTIAN OUTLOOK AND THE CHILD OF TO-DAY

CHAPTER I

MY NEIGHBOUR AND I

BY THE REV. W. RUSSELL MALTBY, M.A.

The most menacing problems of the modern world are those of the corporate life. All the "splendid isolations" of the past are gone or going, and each man's private well-being is vitally affected by things with which he would rather have nothing to do. This modern development is matter of common knowledge, but it is not always realized how greatly it increases the moral demand and complicates the moral situation for every one of us.

REAL religion is the most personal thing in the world. It is also the least private. Christianity in so far as it is true to itself, is the reconciliation of these two assertions, but not a compromise between them. It is the religion of the personal soul brought into fellowship with the Father who sees in secret, living heartily in the Father's world, and finding its discipline and its joy in a human fellowship. Christianity has not always been so understood. With some—and not always the meanest natures—religion has been pure individualism, "a private affair between a man and his Maker." With others it has been simplified into a system of social betterment where everything is irrelevant except the Profit-and-Loss account of social good.

Both these perversions may be recognized for what they are, yet it may still be no easy task to find the point where the double truth is seen as one, with background and foreground both in focus.

There is, to begin with, an indestructible individualism in Christianity. The Fatherhood of God, as Jesus used that term, was not intended to convey merely a general benevolence toward the human race. It expressed an individualizing care which saw every human life, as it were, from the inside. Each one of us is not less dear to God, nor any less intimately known by Him, because there are fifteen hundred millions of others just as dear. The very hairs of our heads are all numbered. There is joy in His presence over

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"one sinner" that turns homeward. "It is not the will of your Father that one of these little ones should perish." It is the one lost sheep for which the Shepherd seeks until He finds it.

This love of God is not an arbitrary thing with no reason except that God willed it so. He made us for Himself. "At the core of our personality is a spark lighted at the altar of God in heaven, a something too holy ever to consent to evil." The only thing that can be done with all the heart and mind and soul and strength is to love God. We are made capable in our measure of understanding God's dealings with us, rejoicing in them and making our own response. But this response is so personal a thing that no one can make it in our stead, nor can any one prevent us from making it ourselves. The perfecting of this ineffable relation of the individual soul to the God and Father of us all, is the end of all God's dealings with us, and it is so great a thing that it carries immortality as a necessary consequence and death itself becomes an incident in a pilgrimage to fuller life and better fellowship. So, upon occasion, a man may be obliged to retreat to this central ground, to renounce his kindred, his community, his "Church," to stand alone and obey God rather than man. For all these will pass but he himself will endure, and the human fellowship which he will find beyond will not be the mere reproduction of family groups here, still less of national organisms. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me." "Fear not them that kill the body, and then cannot do you any more harm."

Truths like these, though won late in the struggle of the human spirit, are of the essence of religion, and when they fade, religion itself decays. It is not to be wondered at that they took too absorbing a hold of many a noble mind. In comparison with these sublime dealings with the Unseen, the visible world seemed trivial and all its interests illusory. They were suspicious of any happiness which was not directly religious, and half ashamed of enjoying their meals or resting in their beds. The things of sense seemed to them merely the enemies of the things of the spirit, the world itself hostile and appointed for man's trial. Even human affection had mutinous tendencies, and must be kept, so to speak, under observation, or renounced as subtracting from God what it offered to men. So the sublimity of these solitary personal relations with a personal God,

being misconceived, tended with some earnest minds to disable them for social intercourse or any ardent interest in the common life as most men must live it. Others, not so noble, found an easier way. Since the common life was a thing God was not thought to be much interested in, and they found themselves unable to resist its interest, they compromised by paying their religious dues in the region which God was supposed to care about, and were then left the more free to follow their bent in the secular regions, the outlying provinces which He more seldom visited.

It may still be necessary to insist that this is a perversion of religion. Whoever attempts to separate the first and great commandment from the second which is like unto it, will find the whole battery of the New Testament trained upon him. Some of the evidence is stated in a later chapter, but no summary can convey the strength of the cumulative testimony of those first Christian documents to the truth that we cannot enter into the fellowship of God unless we admit our brother also, and reproduce in our dealings with him the kindness we ourselves receive from God.

But even if the New Testament had not drawn the inevitable inference, we should have been obliged to deduce it for ourselves. If God is the Father of us all, He will be "fatherly in *all* His dealings" with His children. He must know the world in which we are placed, since it was He who made it, and it is inconceivable that He made it alluring only in order to provide us with temptations. If this were all that was needed we could not resist the suspicion that the thing had been overdone. If He be a Father, He must have taken thought for our whole environment, and our whole environment must be significant. Heaven and earth must be full of His glory. Jesus at any rate saw it to be so. He spent Himself in doing good, but He never did anything, we are told, that He had not seen the Father doing. "My Father worketh and I must do the same." Wherever He looked, He saw God *doing things*, taking care of flowers and birds, and men, both good and bad. "He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good," for this is His way of loving His enemies. For Jesus this visible world was the sacrament of the invisible, not hostile nor dead, but friendly and alive with meanings, a

"mighty sum
Of things for ever speaking."

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And if we consider His outlook upon the working world and the daily life we are taught the same lesson. His parables and sayings reveal where His habitual interests were. The labour of men had an inexhaustible interest for Him—fishermen and farmers, shepherds and gardeners, merchants and traders, landlords and tenants, builders and bankers, all are here, and all at their work. Our Lord's farmer is not the contemplative farmer musing at evening when his work is done, nor is His shepherd heard warbling pastoral music while innocent sheep crop innocent grass. But our Lord sees the farmer persevering amid disappointments and lost labour, and the shepherd winning his victory in the hour when his work was most desolate and arduous. The completeness of His sympathy with the common stuff of human life breaks upon the mind again and again with fresh surprise. It tells us that if we would keep company with God we must go where men are, and if we would come nearer to Him we must come nearer to our fellows.

This harmonizing in experience of the first commandment, to love God, and the second, to love our neighbour, ought to be of peculiar interest to the modern world, for the problems of our day will make us intolerant alike of a religion which is without serviceable hands and feet, and of a pragmatism which lacks a directing and energizing soul. The most menacing problems of the modern world are the problems of the corporate life. All the "splendid isolations" of the past are gone or going, and each man's private well-being is vitally affected by things with which he would rather have nothing to do. This modern development is of course matter of common knowledge, but it is not always realized how greatly it increases the moral demand and complicates the moral situation for every one of us.

It has been said that in the Middle Ages an ordinary English labourer would not meet a hundred different people in the course of his life. Much later than the Middle Ages, England was still a country of small towns and smaller villages and hamlets, inhabited by small self-contained communities. The periodical coach which dropped a hungry passenger and changed its steaming horses at the inn, was but a momentary invasion from the outer world till it clattered out again, and left the little community to itself once more. They bought of one another, sold to one another, worked for one another. A man's work remained within his own sight, and whether

he did good or evil, he did it among people whom he knew and who told him about it. In such a community the moral duties, though by no means easy, are relatively light.

But the Industrial Revolution is now so far advanced as to have transformed the world into a vast social complex in which the average individual is assigned only a microscopic part in the tending of an immense machine. He cannot contract out and he cannot make his own terms. He may be made an unconscious partner in oppressions and immoral exploitations of which he never hears. He does not know what happened before his part begins, and his work often passes out of his sight as soon as it leaves his hands. The principal part of a man's life, his daily work, is removed into a region where the governing forces are impersonal and therefore non-moral. The temptation to consider nothing but whether a course of action is profitable or not, seems to many almost irresistible.

This is a situation morally discouraging to the individual. It is difficult in the first place to know the facts, and next to ascertain one's personal responsibility; and any active protest which an individual may make, though it may be ruinous to himself, seems negligible when measured against the scale of the system in which he is involved. It may be questioned whether any age has been presented with a more difficult moral problem. Some discovery must be made of fresh moral resources which will enable ordinary people to act above the ordinary level. The immemorial virtues which would have made life admirable in Pharaoh's time would still have been sufficient in the eighteenth century. In the twentieth they will not suffice to hold society from disruption. Some of our prophets, aided by large draughts of light-hearted optimism, are able to keep their spirits up, and to assure us that everything will come right. Christian men might well find a more intelligent way than this. Believing that the world is not ungoverned, nor governed senselessly, they will turn towards the future with reverence and godly fear, but not without a certain exhilaration, assured that there is meaning and opportunity in the new situation, and desiring to bear a worthy part in so critical a time.

Perhaps the first thing to be insisted on is that organized Society owes a special duty to the individual in the modern world—not merely to see him clothed and fed, but to respect his frontiers and safeguard his spiritual rights. Those huge aggregations which form

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a political party and determine a Government, or organize into a Trade Union and frame industrial policies, have their proper ends to serve. But if they aim at something more than immediate victory, the worst thing they can do is to increase in the individual the sense of his impotence, for on the lowest view, this is to impoverish the quality of the raw material from which Society is made. Millions of passive but well-drilled men will never make a kingdom of God, however well fed, well tailored, and well behaved they may be. It used to be thought, not so long ago, that our age had learned the value of liberty and that the rights of the individual were conceded. There was indeed some ground for satisfaction, but the advance was not so secure as was imagined. Real tolerance is based on reverence for the human personality and it was never an easy or an obvious virtue; rather it was a sublime inspiration and a daring venture. But there is a marketable variety called by the same name which is not hard to come by. It is easy to be tolerant when you do not care, or toward opponents who are too weak to count. When the World War came, a great deal of easy tolerance went suddenly to the winds. When security was at an end and fear was in the air, some divines who had often extolled liberty of conscience in the past, discovered that no one had a right to a conscience now, unless it spoke with the majority. The Prussian doctrine of the absolute supremacy of the State was diagnosed as a malignant disease, but some of the physicians of that time took the infection, and the reaction against liberty has spread in new directions. Compulsory religion was tried for some centuries and failed. Compulsory irreligion is being tried in Russia now, and that also will fail, though not perhaps till it has been tried in other places as well. Old battles may have to be fought again. For the one sure foundation for the rights of the individual in Society is in his constitution as a spiritual being, in his personal relation to God and his immortal destiny. And it is written in the nature of things that any society, however formidably equipped, will disintegrate unless it recognizes that all other loyalties are subordinate to the loyalty each man owes to the truth as he sees it himself.

If we turn now to consider the duty which the individual owes to society in our age, we shall see that a new commandment springs out of the old. The individual Christian must *widen his interests*. He believes that he is not in a mechanical universe but in God's

world, and that there is a divine purpose at work to gather the human family into a fellowship in which alone man's blessedness can be found. It cannot therefore be sufficient for him merely to accept things as they are, to defend the privileges or assert the rights of his class or his country, and fulfil the conventional standards of behaviour without caring to know how other men live—or die—or at whose expense the gifts of civilization come to him. Even if he adds churchgoing and regular communion to his scheme of habits, his is not a Christian life. It was once enough that he should love his brother whom he had seen, since he had no dealings with any other. It is now required of him that he should know how it fares with the brother whom he has not seen.

There are some hopeful signs. Societies like the League of Nations Union and the Workers' Educational Association (to name two out of many) are educating their members in a new social outlook. The missionary societies of almost all the Churches are turning numbers of their supporters into students of affairs, so that already many of the younger generation know more of the real international problems than some who in recent times have governed an empire. Of course it is not to be expected of most men, with little leisure and limited powers, that they should master the intractable problems of a changing world. But since it is obviously wrong—to take a single instance—that the British people should make the laws and settle the administration of subject peoples, without knowing anything about them or even caring to know, until such time as they make themselves troublesome, it must be the duty of a Christian citizen to know what he can in order that he may care as he should.

This new world-society is under necessity to equip itself with some kind of Intelligence Department, to give timely warning of maladjustments, anti-social developments and other evils which flourish in the dark, all the more so because there is always money for some one in every anti-social vice, and in a very little while, the evil thing provides itself with "vested interests" and blameless investors and offices in London with unimpeachable mahogany doors. It is part of the business of the Christian Church to provide from its own members, men and women with a quickened social conscience who will be the eyes and ears of a Christian community and the pioneers of a better order. This process is already going on. We can watch Society providing itself, though far too slowly, with

a new moral apparatus for the ordering of the new corporate life. It is easy to be impatient with the multiplication of societies and organizations for preventing evil or doing good. No doubt some of them seem designed to provide material for the humorist. Yet if we regard these multifarious organizations as so many attempts to organize the latent good-will among men and to rescue human life from the encroachment of selfish or impersonal forces, they are seen to be signs of social vitality. They show that the social organism is alive, and functioning under new conditions for development and self-defence. It may be a plain Christian duty for the more leisured and privileged people to belong to a good many societies and to pay many subscriptions, and pay them handsomely and punctually. For we cannot, if we think at all, be content to find civilization treating us with such extraordinary generosity while our brothers, not less deserving, haunt for ever the neighbourhood of the poverty line.

The Good Samaritan in the parable excites our admiration for the goodness of his heart, but almost as much our envy for the simplicity of his problem. For now the highways of modern life are strewn with the stripped and wounded, and some of these have acquired the habit of falling among thieves, and if the modern Samaritan stayed to succour every one, he might soon have no ass to carry him, nor even twopence for the innkeeper. We are right, therefore, to police the human road, to have an ambulance within call and hospitals near by, and to send messengers to try to bring the robbers to a better mind. All this organization and delegation of our neighbourly duty is needful and right, subject to two conditions. First that we do not grudge the cost of it. And this means, for instance, that we do not grudge our taxes, not even the super-tax, or economize in education, or complain of "appeals" for social and religious work done in our name. And the second condition is that the individual must at some point maintain personal contact with the need of the world he lives in and help to humanize and make sacramental the help that would otherwise reach the needy at the end of a steel arm, without benediction on those who give or those who receive.

There is another consideration important to remember when the individual Christian is tempted to write himself down first as a fraction and then as a cipher, in the huge sum of the world's affairs, and to regard his personal effort as negligible against corporate

evil. The individual is by no means so insignificant in the modern world as he is apt to think. One result of the experience of a democratic age is to demonstrate the necessity of leadership. Democracy does not mean that if ten thousand people add together their individual foolishness, the result is corporate wisdom. A reasonable faith in democracy includes the conviction that a people which is sound at heart will throw up good leaders from time to time, and will know how to discern them when they appear. For leaders it must have. A party which cannot find leaders disintegrates. A church will stand still if it cannot find leaders. Fifty earnest people will meet time and again to find out "what to do about it," and devise nothing but futility, till some man enters with "the little more," and in an hour they are all on the march. In different ways we are made necessary to one another.

"We are members one of another," and all the members have not the same office. The law holds throughout, on the great scale of nations down to the nightly consultations in the village inn. In these days all "authorities" have lost prestige, and every man is supposed to have a right to his own opinion, however little he paid for it, yet, if any man appear with a little higher spiritual voltage than his fellows, a little more of initiative energy, a little more of insight or of character, even a little more of the power of articulating his thoughts, his waiting comrades gather about him, depend upon him, try his road and spread his message. Any man, however moderate his endowments, who will live among unselfish thoughts, exercise his will in noble choices and discipline his powers, will find himself influential without seeking influence, so hungry is the modern world for some prophetic guidance. And if anywhere the fit word is spoken, or any living idea found, or any fruitful adventure made, there is available the amazing modern apparatus of publicity to scatter the seed.

So far, this chapter has been concerned with the individual in the modern world, mainly as he is affected by the new conditions of the new corporate life, for these, as we have seen, make fresh and exacting moral demands upon him, and our age calls peremptorily for better world-citizens than at present we produce. But this preoccupation with large-scale problems may become an obsession if we allow them to fill the field of vision. All our problems, industrial, economic, and international put together, do not cover the whole

of life. Whatever be the social conditions in which people live, they are still husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies, acquaintances, customers, fellow-passengers, and the like. They earn their bread, they take their meals, they care for their children, they mix with their fellows; and in all this they exhibit moral qualities. They are cheerful or complaining, selfish or considerate, peaceable or quarrelsome, kind or callous; and which of these they are is not determined, though it may be affected, by their postal address, or their wages or want of wages. Almost any town slum will furnish a witness to prove that the worst oppression of men or of circumstance cannot extirpate kindness from some hearts. And if this makes us the more intolerant of the slum, as it should, it makes us more content with the universe. For it would be intolerable if our selfishness had the power to deprive of that celestial wealth those who had been robbed of every other treasure.

History is not now written as it once was. We have learned that behind the wars of kings and the intrigues of statesmen, the life of a people went strangely on, less affected by campaigns and conquests than former historians imagined. So there is need for a similar reminder that even under bad laws and indefensible conditions there is going on the spiritual history of a people, toiling, resting, thinking, hoping, enduring—a history often tragic and pitiful, but always to be regarded with love and reverence by any who have eyes to see. Every man makes his contribution, good or bad, to the quality of that life, and on its quality hangs the hope of any real advance, even in outward conditions. Our several contributions are in the main “the little nameless unremembered acts,” perhaps “of kindness and of love,” perhaps of selfishness and neglect, of courage or of cowardice, of patience or of passion. Christians of the first century were warned against particular corruptions of their own time, but they were warned even more strenuously against anger and slander and envy and quarrelling, sins that have no date.

These undesirables, with the incalculable waste of human happiness which they entail, are with us still. They were not then and they are not now, the special result of bad social conditions, though they make it impossible to get good social conditions. “*Out of the heart of men,*” said Jesus, “evil thoughts proceed, fornications, thefts, murders, adulteries, covetings . . . railing, pride, foolish-

ness." True words like these have sometimes been used to obstruct reform as though they were an interdict against mending conditions until all hearts were clean. No rebuke of such an abuse of His word would have been more scathing than His own. But no advocate of wide and necessary remedies should neglect the truth which these words convey, justified as they have been by the whole history of mankind. There is such a thing as sin, and the selfish principle which had its place in our animal ancestry and should have been transcended or transmuted when a higher order of life came within man's reach, has everywhere fortified itself in human life. It was doing its divisive work in every home and in every street long before it essayed its prouder task of setting class against class, and all the nations of the earth by the ears. The relevancy of Christianity to modern need is that it brings a moral reinforcement which makes love not a commandment but an experience, and enables the individual to put away the whole family of "self" and to "put on compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness and good temper." If these graces are not attainable, Christianity is not true. If they are attainable, it cannot be denied that they are greatly needed. And they have this distinction, that one does not need to gather a committee or form a society to get them into operation. A man may begin where he is, and the blessing of the peacemaker, in a generation sick of strife, will rest upon him.

Even for those large social remedies for which the time calls, these ancient virtues are a necessary contribution. Whether society can hold together under the tension of rapid and perhaps revolutionary changes may depend on a certain steadiness and reasonableness which has in the past been reckoned characteristic of the British people. Some observers believe that this is changing, and that the new town-bred type to which the great majority of our population belongs is nervously more unstable and more suggestible than the old. We have nerve diseases enough to keep Harley Street prosperous and to create a new religion once a month. If we have lost something of the old-fashioned virtue of patience, we have a large increase of indignation. Our pleasures as well as our business are much more highly organized, and spiced with hotter sensation. Family life, with the old relationships changing their character, is for the time carried on at a much higher tension than formerly, and perhaps there is less quiet happiness in our homes. These

comparisons may be precarious and they may do injustice to our own time. Yet the signs are not all reassuring for a Society which in the near future must take some sharp bends at a fierce pace. The nation will need all the good-will it can find, and the steadiness which comes from a sense of responsibility, and these qualities must be grown in the homes and exercised in the ordinary contacts of daily life, if they are to be available in the crisis of a nation's need.

CHAPTER II

THE TREND OF FAMILY LIFE

BY ANNIE S. SWAN

While every change in civilization has effected an alteration of the conception of the family, the changes that are taking place to-day seem in many quarters to threaten the very existence of the home. No one can fail to perceive the need of a thorough examination of prevalent conditions.

THE Creator saw that it was not good for man to be alone, so gave him his mate, and set the solitary together in families. From this union and mandate sprang the greatest, indeed the only enduring happiness in a world which sin had entered. Throughout all the ages, the family has been symbolical of something concrete, satisfying, steadfast, set for all time among the things which cannot be moved. On the home with its wholesome discipline, its ordered comfort and security men have staked their all. For its sweet sake, they have gone forth into the wilderness to dare and to achieve, have dreamed of it by camp fire and stormy bivouac, have lived and worked and suffered, and sometimes died.

This shrine, common to all peoples in all ages, has its differing standards. But even among the most savage and elemental peoples some form of family life exists, and the shrine is kept inviolate. Civilization must bear the heavy reproach that it has desecrated this shrine, and dragged it from its high estate, from the pinnacle on which God Himself erected it. With wider progress has come greater licence, and the last decade with its crushing deadly aftermath of war has brought about devastating changes in the family life of the English-speaking peoples.

In order that we may the more clearly recognize and appreciate these changes it may be well to look back. The writer can go back more than half a century. Then, beyond doubt, the atmosphere of the home was ordered and maintained entirely by the will and outlook of the parents. The children literally were seen but not heard.

They were kept very strictly in their subordinate place, and would not have dreamed of contributing, as they do now from the earliest age, to every family discussion. The strictest discipline was observed and enforced, no questioning, argument or dissent was allowed. Implicit obedience was expected, nay, enforced at all times. I will not say that this drastic treatment did not quite frequently create a feeling of revolt, and that the sense of injustice was not at times very strong in the youthful mind. But it was always inarticulate; thus was learned the lesson of self-control.

The atmosphere, then, in Christian households, especially in the country best known to me, was certainly gloomy. The shutting out of the sunlight on the Sabbath day, the absolute cessation of every ordinary week-day activity, the enforced idleness, and more particularly the lack of interesting reading were not calculated to inspire admiration or love for the Sabbath Day. And yet there were compensations on which I shall touch presently. From this stern discipline and gloomy observance of the Lord's Day there were of course many cases of complete breaking-away. Manses were prolific in such cases, giving great concern to anxious God-fearing parents who acted according to their lights.

Very seldom then was the child consulted as to his future career. That was ordained for him by his elders, settled in grave family conclaves, from which he was invariably absent. Good openings for him were diligently sought, and when one was found, he was placed in it, quite frequently without consulting his bent or capacity. There were of course many cases of strong will and determination flouting the parental decision. The "lad o' pairs" even when not recognized at home would carve out a path for himself. Many cases of mistaken parental decision recur to me, one in particular of an old friend of my own, a distinguished artist now dead, who had very great difficulty in starting his career.

His father was a farmer, and this only son was destined for the plough. Having declined this occupation and pointed out that he wished and intended to be a painter, he was forthwith ejected from his father's house and sent about his business without a word of encouragement, and what was more serious, without a penny. His father's argument in favour of this harsh treatment was found in the Bible injunction that he who will not work shall not eat. Observe that in that limited area, no form of art was recognized as work.



MME. LE BRUN AND HER DAUGHTER.

By V. LE BRUN.



NELSON'S FIRST FAREWELL.

By GEORGE W. JOY.

Long afterwards when our artist had achieved through much travail the beginnings of his success, he was painting in the border district one day, when an uncle of his came across him. Regarding the easel and the unfinished picture with obvious contempt, he observed, "I suppose you'd rather do that than *work*."

All that is changed now, and no lad displaying the slightest capacity in any direction need be at a loss. Even when parents are not sympathetic, there are innumerable open doors inside of which genius can have its chance. There is no doubt, however, that this spartan family treatment had its uses. Those who survived it grew to noble stature. There were giants in those days. Now we all walk and lie too softly, and have therefore a superabundance of the dead level, alike in ideal and achievement. One advantage of the arbitrary legislation of parents was that there was no drifting stage in the young life, no hiatus, no hanging on till the youthful mind was made up, until Johnnie arrived at some decision as to what he would like to do. The word *like* had a very subordinate place in the parental vocabulary, the usual phraseology being, "You do as you are bid."

There was great reverence for work, and through lack of it to-day the world is perishing and every man's hand is at his brother's throat. Now it is merely regarded as a means to an end. So many hours, so many shillings or pounds as the case may be! The joy of the cunning workman (and there is none like it) is lost. Until we can recapture it in part we may look in vain for industrial peace. Respect for work, reverence for parents, the habit of worship, all these were essential components of the family life as I recall it.

There was certainly a good deal of repression. Emotional demonstrations of affection were not encouraged, but regarded as signs of weakness. The child whose heritage is love was thus sometimes cheated. There was certainly less comradeship and more fear. Even after I had a house of my own I rose instinctively and stood in my father's presence, so strong was the habit of respect and its outward expression.

There were many cases, no doubt, when the gulf thus created was too wide and deep to be bridged by natural affection. But it made for strength of character, and gave a certain dignity to family life which is lacking to-day.

The man and woman who, loving one another truly, are well

and wisely mated, pledging themselves to make the best of one another and of their dual life, start very fairly in their family life. The children born to them are welcomed, as the crown of their happiness, gifts from God, and they spend their lives trying to rear them wisely, mingling common sense with their parental love.

Happy the children born in such a home, and to such a heritage ! They start with a very fair chance and a favouring gale. No pains are spared to develop them on the right lines. Father and mother cheerfully unite to fulfil their responsibilities, suffering privations, often surrendering secret and personal ambitions because they realize that they must do their duty by the hostages they have given to fortune. They have, generally speaking, their reward in the devotion and gratitude of their children, though now and again occurs a case of heavy disappointment. But in the main, in family life as in other fields of human experience, you reap as you sow.

Whatever the issue, the conscientious father and mother have the inward satisfaction and assurance that they have left nothing undone to safeguard both the interests and the future of their children. They have striven to give them every chance.

In these days, however, there would appear to be fewer such parents. There has been a complete reversion or breaking away from the old standard. Nowhere in our national affairs is the change of standard, its portentous lowering, more visible than in the relations of parents to children. The children cannot be blamed. Their plastic natures respond automatically to the dominating influence. And finding themselves in a selfish pleasure-loving atmosphere they quickly take on its colour and assert themselves in precisely the same directions.

The greatest menace to our family life to-day is the prevalence of loose ideas concerning the sanctity of the marriage bond. Possibly in the old days there was too much reticence, and the elemental facts of life were too closely veiled, but now the other extreme prevails. Nothing is hid, there is neither shrine nor sanctuary, the most intimate facts of life, the relations between the sexes, birth-control, all are discussed openly in newspapers and magazines, and consequently in general conversation, so that nothing is left to imagination nor even to modesty. "Light, more light !" Goethe is reported to have cried on his death-bed ; but what about

the blinding glare which makes common objects undistinguishable and distorts the vision ?

In the days that are gone, divorce was regarded in the light of a crime or a calamity. No respectable family could endure it. Wrongs were suffered in dignity and silence, the vow " For better for worse " was taken literally. I cannot see that we have benefited by the drastic change that has come over public opinion in these matters. Individual cases of hardship may possibly have been reduced, but the frantic rush to the divorce court has undoubtedly created a feeling of insecurity, and incidentally caused some to fight shy of matrimony. There is no longer any fixed tenure in matrimony, and even the happily married, haunted by this feeling of insecurity, have qualms about having children. They undoubtedly complicate life, make it less easy or desirable to break an irksome bond. I believe that this feeling of insecurity has as much to do with the problem of birth-control as the trouble and expense entailed by a family.

Economists, on occasion alarmists, are constantly drawing attention to the disquieting fact that it is not citizens of the best type who are propagating their kind, but the least desirable. Thus are laid the foundations of a nation's decline.

The insistent outcry for freedom, the revolt against control, the complete and widespread resistance to the discipline of experience among the young have rendered the difficulties, anxieties, and problems of parenthood almost unendurable. Many are afraid to tackle them. It is one explanation, quite as just and accurate as the desire on the part of married couples to shirk responsibility and enjoy their own good and selfish time unhampered. Looking round with clear unflinching eyes upon the world as we find it to-day, the careful and honest observer encounters much to sadden and perplex. Something has gone from us. Whether we shall ever recover it, whether the balance will yet be restored, who shall say ? Not only is there less stability in every relation of life, whether we study it in the home, the community or the nation, there is less contentment. Less stability and incomparably less happiness ! A continuous and restless pursuit of happiness—yes. But that elusive guest does not readily respond to pursuit, but steals in unobtrusively, unnoticed, sometimes uninvited to very humble firesides and quiet hearts. Men seem to have lost faith in one another.

The decline of faith, with its natural harvest of bitterness, suspicion and distrust is taking its toll, not only of our people, but of all the peoples of the earth. The human soul is a very wonderful, delicate, and mysterious organism. None can dissect or lay bare its component parts, nor tabulate its essence, heritage, or future. Very secret and elusive, now and again it dazzles by some illuminating flash which reveals its immortal quality.

It is safe and unanswerable to say that its prime need is an object for worship, some goal towards which it may yearn, though it may never attain. There is no people so primitive nor so low in the social scale as to be destitute of some object for worship. In primeval forests, where the foot of the white man has never yet trod, "the heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone." This is something far deeper and more insistent than a mere instinct or impulse ; it is a vital need.

It is the same with obedience, surely the second necessity of the soul. The present revolt against every form of authority rampant in all classes is the tragedy of our age. It is not so much that all wish to rule, as that all claim complete freedom of action and of thought. In the cant phraseology of the day they want to live their own lives. There is no such thing. It is a question whether those who gabble most loudly and insistently about it, know exactly what they do mean or could adequately explain themselves. They seek freedom, meaning licence of speech and behaviour for which no court either of law or of public opinion will call them to account. That way madness lies, "red ruin and the breaking up of laws."

Let us consider for a moment how inextricably we are bound up one with another by the common ties of humanity and kinship. Think how the misbehaviour, the cruelty, selfishness or shirking of one member of a family can affect all the other members, causing them grief, anxiety, even at times paralysing their power to work. The same argument is applicable to our communal and national life. The failure of one unit adversely affects the whole, lowers the standard, makes it more difficult for others to carry on.

No, there is no such thing as complete freedom for any individual. Are we not all bound by cords which come from out of eternity ? Civilization, a very delicate fabric, woven of a thousand invisible threads is very susceptible to such assaults. It is being threatened now by a thousand dark forces from without, and will need all

the help its strong sons and daughters can give it. Else it will not survive.

This clamant desire for freedom is nowhere working more disastrously than in our family life to-day. The home is admittedly the chief bulwark of the State. But it is far more than that, it is the training-ground for her citizens where, conditions being favourable, they are taught discipline, self-control, duty towards others, without which there can be no service worthy of the name rendered to the State. Think of the disservice and dishonour which emanate from the criminal class, which has eliminated self-control and given the predatory and destructive instincts full sway !

There is no substitute for the family life. That is why the solitary child, always an object for compassion, is so badly handicapped. In his most abundant and intimate hours he is without a rival, he has to share nothing, is seldom contradicted, criticized or thwarted. Thus his baser, more selfish instincts are fostered and the more generous ones stifled. Usually he is the idol of his parents who, though they know how difficult it is to rear wisely an only child, somehow miss the way. I know of no preparation for life's battle to equal that found in the camaraderie, free criticism, and outspoken fearless rivalry of a large family. I had the good fortune to be a member of one, so speak from experience. Family life, without a guiding principle and mainspring, will not, however, fulfil all the obligations with which it is credited.

And now we come to the crux of the whole matter, the key to the secret door. It is because the faith of our fathers, belief in and earnest following of the Lord Jesus, is so little in evidence in the modern home, that we find the trend of family life declining in honour, integrity and fine results. The family altar has practically disappeared. Even grace before meat, how seldom do we meet it even in Christian homes ! The argument most popular to excuse this lapse is that it is too apt to become a mere routine meaning nothing.

Though God is not denied in the home, and the charge of unbelief would in nine cases out of ten be indignantly repudiated, He is not publicly and gladly acknowledged nor honoured. He is indeed conspicuously absent from the average family councils, though industriously, sometimes slavishly remembered in times of travail or of stress. Prayer is too often resorted to in the last extremity,

when everything else has failed, instead of being, as intended, our stay and buttress in all our undertakings.

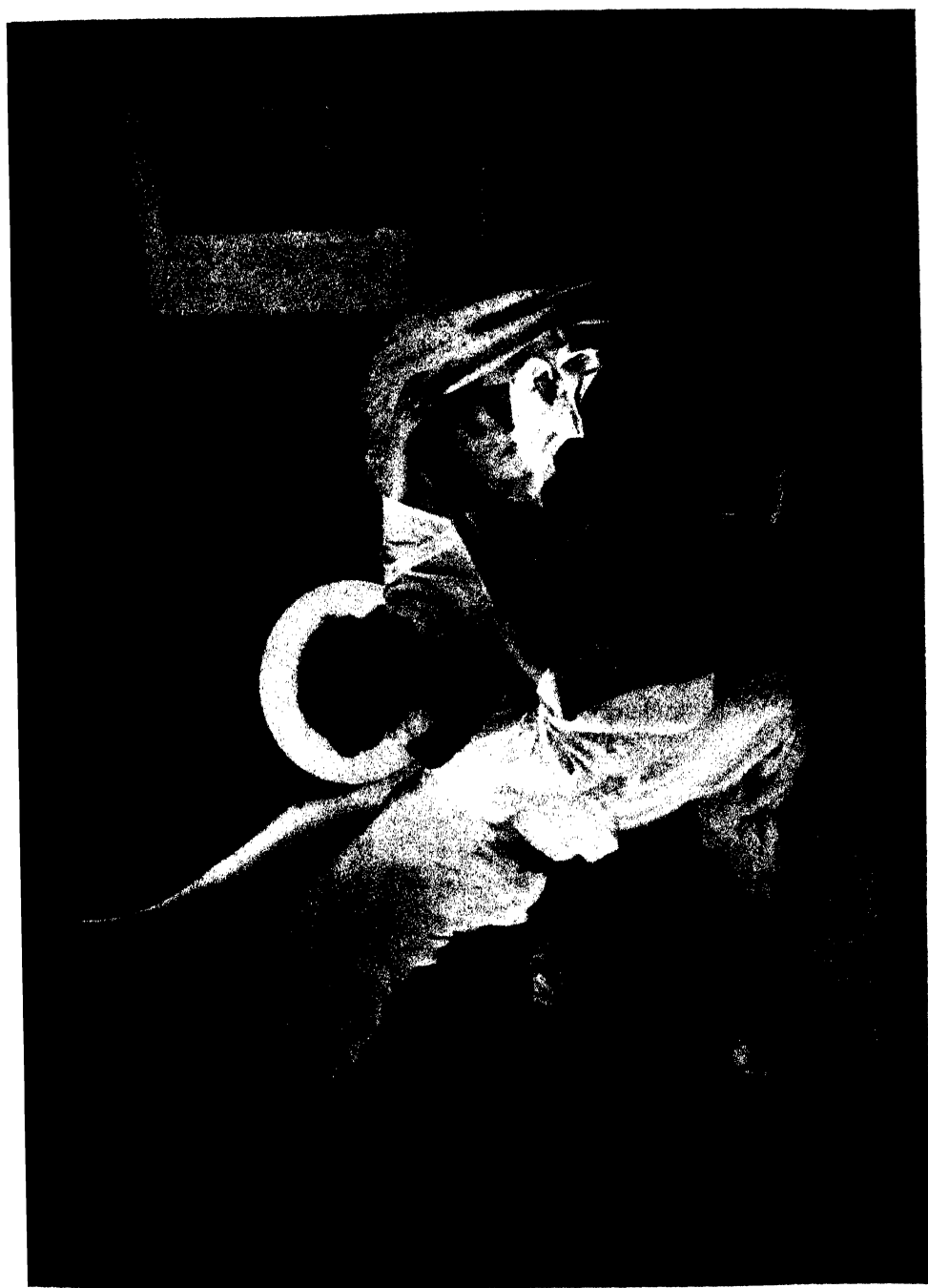
These facts are not industriously marshalled out of any spirit of pessimism or carping criticism, they are simply patent to the most casual observer. The pity of it! since to be in tune with the Infinite is to possess the key to the universe. What is the cause of this spiritual decline? How are we to alter this material state of things, which is militating alike against individual happiness and national efficiency?

The Church is freely blamed, one cannot help thinking without due cause. I can recall the time when the Church, whether in the village or the city, was the hub of the universe, the centre of social life. In it we found our friends, our interests, our activities, even our amusements. True, we were then content with simpler things. The congregation was a happy and united family, with a common bond between each member. There was then no shirking of church attendance, but an eagerness to go. The stay-at-home through illness or other disability was an unenvied person. Far different the state of affairs to-day. Church attendance has fallen off, and half-day hearers form the great majority.

Yet it is not apparent anywhere that either the clergy or office-bearers are less faithful and efficient, or that the machinery of the Church has failed in endeavour to meet the need of the day. Criticisms of preaching are as the sands of the shore for multitude, and on occasion the blame is laid on our advance in education, which has rendered listeners more critical.

All these specious excuses fill one with wonder and ineffable sadness. Not one of them goes to the root of the matter, or even touches the fringes of it. The truth is that the religious sense, the true spirit of worship, has waned if not altogether disappeared in too many hearts. The church is not their Father's House in any sense, but merely an irksome place of resort where they are reminded uncomfortably too often of neglected duty and opportunity. They do not go there to worship joyfully or to lay a burden down, but to satisfy the pricks of conscience, discharge a duty that has become irksome, or as the students have it "Put in cards."

Whose is the blame that young people of to-day, with some few exceptions, have little use for church services? I lay the blame unhesitatingly on the parents who create the atmosphere in which



these young souls live and move and have their being. In their most plastic and impressionable years they received an impression of church life which they never afterwards renounce. Where worship is a joy, where the light and the true liberty conferred by the Gospel and service of the Lord Christ, where His spirit radiates the home, His House is not neglected.

In thousands of the homes of our land and other lands the worship has been transferred from the true God to false gods, will-o'-th'-wisps of pleasure and inclination, the insistent and never combated determination to have a good time, no matter at what cost. I say fearlessly that the family hasn't a fair chance to-day. Until we get back worshipping and joyful fathers and mothers we shall have the children careless, difficult, and wayward.

Sooner or later every human soul becomes aware that naught will or can satisfy its immortal need save that which is itself immortal.

This marks the difference between the soul and the clod. It is a poor and cowardly thing to keep some form of blind belief in the background of life, ready as it were for any emergency when material help shall have failed and been proven useless.

Yet this is what thousands do. During the World War, more especially in its earlier stages, there was a great inrush of worship. The most acid tests were applied to faith, and were adequately met. The need was urgent and appalling. In my memory dwell many pictures of war-time experience. But one holds and remains. It was in a hut among the sand dunes of northern France, where a great company had gathered to hear a message from home with which the writer had been entrusted. They were soldiers at the base, most of whom had been in the fighting line, and many of them were seriously wounded and making slow recovery. The wounds of war were visible upon them, and the woman who stood up to address them after the singing of the hundredth psalm felt heart and courage fail. Voice also, and it was a full minute before the faltering tones were able to reach even the veterans in the front row.

Their faces ! shall I ever forget them, strange mingling of longing, sadness, grim courage, vague questioning. Praying mightily for the fitting word the writer spoke to them of home, passing from contemplation of the earthly one to the heavenly. They listened entranced, very simple souls hearing the simplest of all messages, but the greatest.

When all was over they gathered round. It was of home they talked, showing pictures of mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts, a great company of homeless men out in the ghastly wilderness, little children at heart.

Never, never was the power of Home and Family more powerfully and poignantly demonstrated. The great majority of these men now sleep on Flanders fields, and save in a few faithful hearts they are forgotten. What of their sacrifice, made not for place or power for this nation or the other, but to keep safe the homes of the land they love? Well, how shall we best repay them? Surely by keeping these homes inviolate, creating and maintaining a family life that will do honour to their memory.

There is one overwhelming lack in the family to-day. The study of the Bible is neglected, left to the school teacher, to be shoved into the curriculum to meet the ordination of educational authorities. Those who have walked the devious and perplexing ways of life by the light from that page, the light which never fails, bear testimony in season and out of season with thankful reverence to its adequacy to meet every demand made upon it. It responds to every call. There is no crisis of life that cannot be met and enlightened by its wise counsel and reproof. It is the greatest of all books. Many of our masters in literature, after years of dallying in the wilderness, have come back, like little children, to learn from its dazzling pages. They admit freely that nowhere else is there such powerful drama, such haunting poetry, such drastic summing-up of character and life.

It is here, and here alone, that the remedy for family and national slackness and irreligion will be found. We must arise as one man and flock to the foot of the Cross, to learn once more the lessons of love, humility, surrender and service. That way alone happiness lies.

There are those who assure us, while admitting that the trend of things is disquieting, that it is simply a stage in evolution and that presently, this stage passed, we shall emerge on the clear open highway, unhurt, stronger and finer as a people than we have ever been.

History offers us no encouragement here. The story of the nations has proved again and again that eclipse has followed upon luxury, self-will, abandonment of the highest ideals of morality

and conduct. We seem to be heading that way, and only the Cross of Jesus raised on high, pointing the way to good-will and peace, can lift us once more to the summer heights of a nation's glory and service. So and so only, can individual happiness and efficiency be secured, and our children be enabled to grow to their full height and become the men and women of their noblest dreams.

There is no other key to the riddle of the universe.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN'S PLACE IN THE CHRISTIAN WORLD TO-DAY

BY MARGARET G. BONDFIELD, J.P.

The penetration by women into the higher branches of trade and the professions; the cases of the working-class woman and the middle-class woman considered; the responsibility of the Church in arousing a consciousness of personal co-operation for the common good, and the absolute necessity for religion in daily life.

ONE of the most powerful influences at work upon the social and economic life of women is the wide extension of mechanical power in the processes of production and distribution.

Theories still persist about "Women's Work," "Woman's Place," "Women's Capacity" based upon the assumption that muscular power determines the greater economic value of man's labour as compared with women's labour. The fact is that in the vast majority of jobs in trade and commerce, the muscular strength now needed is well within the average woman's capacity; in dexterity, intelligence, and concentration on the task of the moment women's labour value is as great as that of men and, in some branches of work, is more adaptable. In repetition work on machines—e.g. stamped and pressed metal goods, chocolates, cigarettes, cardboard boxes, etc.—young girls can become proficient in a few months (it is said that even in textiles a girl reaches her top speed in weaving before she is nineteen years old). Some of these industries could be maintained by relays of young people under twenty-one years of age.

Mechanical power and the invention of the new automatic machines split up the skill of the old-time craftsman till it becomes "Woman's Work" and reduces the mass of operatives—both men and women—to the position of machine minding.

Of the 400,000 women who entered the engineering and allied

trades in 1914-1917 about 90 per cent. were employed on work not recognized as women's work before the Great War—a minority of these were doing the work of fully qualified or skilled tradesmen.

In the same period there was a transfer of about a million women from domestic employment, and an even greater number of homedwelling wives, to the making of munitions, to the corps of "Waacs," "Wrens," and to Y.W.C.A. canteens and welfare work. Industrial routine displaced domestic routine, and for these women the disintegration of the home was complete.

An interesting comparison might be made between the manifest growth of capacity among women during the 1914-1918 war period and that of the women of the seventeenth century who, in the absence of their husbands during the Civil War, "carried on" with great efficiency in trade, in agriculture, and in actively defending their homes against the enemy; women of fine courage and ready wit, taking their full share of work and responsibility in all classes of society.

In her book "Social Life in Stuart England," Mary Coates describes the active part taken by Stuart women in the management of their households and estates: "The Stuart manor-house was a veritable colony of relations and servants, to preside over which was obviously no sinecure; while the fact that it was also practically self-sufficient, economically, only added to the labours of the housewife, for, as a contemporary wedding sermon puts it, 'if she will have Bread, she must not always buy it, but she must sow it and reap it and grind it; if she will have Cloth, she begins at the Seed, she carrieth the Seed into the ground, she gathereth Flax, of her Flax she spinneth a Thread, of her Thread she weaveth Cloth, and so she comes by her Coat.'"

In the Middle Ages, women for whom marriage was not possible or desired entered the vocational life of the Church. There are many records of the great executive ability, the competent administration of large communities and estates by the religious orders of women. They were mainly self-supporting communities; many were women of great learning, of a fine proficiency in the arts—they practised trades, tended gardens, nursed the sick, educated the young, and ministered to the aged—a sort of Ministry of Health which did not suffer from "marriage mortality" because they had

dedicated their lives to the service of God and Humanity through the Church.

The present era, with its excess population of women over men, no less than the Middle Ages, needs celibate women who will stick to their jobs with an undivided mind, who will quite deliberately put aside all thought of marriage and of motherhood and will devote themselves to a career of social service. The transmutation of sex energy to serve not personal but social ends is not only possible to both men and women, but such an achievement brings its own meed of happiness to those "called" to serve in this way.

For the majority of women wage-earners, marriage interrupts the industrial life, and when, through economic pressure, the low wages or the unemployment or sickness of the husband, or through widowhood or desertion a married woman returns to the labour market, she is handicapped by this break in her industrial experience. It is this break in the continuity of service which makes women less dependable than men as industrial units.

The exceptions—in the textiles, ropes, and other smaller trades, where women as a matter of tradition continued working without a break after marriage—tend to decrease. In certain areas—e.g. Birmingham—post-war agreements between groups of employers not to employ married women have adversely affected women who worked through the war years.

The Women's Year Book (1923-24) records that during the years 1914-24 there has been an amazingly successful penetration by women into the higher branches of nearly every trade and profession in Great Britain.

Because of the longer training and experience needed in professional occupations and managerial or directive posts, the marriage break in this category has more serious social consequences. "Marriage mortality" (viz. the loss of trained women from the staffs through resignation on marriage) in the higher ranks of women civil servants and professional women, is a real obstacle to the continuous holding by women of the higher posts, because there is no second line of mature experience from which to fill vacancies; the posts earmarked for women tend to be less responsible ones on account of this absence of continuity, and posts open equally to men and women tend to be filled by men when the pioneer women marry or retire.



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ELLEN KEY, THE FAMOUS SWEDISH SOCIAL WRITER.

The regulations which compel the resignation on marriage of a woman teacher or woman civil servant are indefensible, but even when that injustice is removed the problem would be solved only for the individual, not for the State or Community Service.

For a hundred years recurring patches of misery have been exposed by social reformers; women and children working underground in mines, working in sweated industries, as beasts of burden, or in foul processes and under most insanitary conditions. Very gradually, and as a result of organized agitation and education, public opinion has enforced regulative legislation; Factory Acts, Health Laws, Trade Boards, compensation for accidents, sickness insurance, etc., now protect the workers from the worst of the old unregulated industrial conditions, but for their enforcement organization is necessary.

With the exception of the textile unions which always admitted women, the Trade Union movement was at first mainly hostile to the entry of women, then for the most part indifferent. It woke up at the end of the nineteenth century to the realization that women were in industry as a permanent factor; through sheer lack of knowledge they would unconsciously exercise a reactionary influence against the fight for better standards of life—unless they could be won over to corporate action.

In 1871, when Emma Patterson founded the Women's Protective and Provident League, the legal disabilities of women pressed so harshly that, naturally enough, "feminism" dictated its policy. Mrs. Barbara Drake, in the preface to her interesting study of women in the engineering trades, points out that "it was difficult to acquire the breadth of mind which recognized that protective legislation does not hamper, but emancipates. . . . There was acute friction with the men Trade Unionists, and every attempt at protective legislation was viewed with distrust and attacked with energy as an attempt by men to hamper women's competition by fresh disabilities. . . . Experience showed these women's organizations had no staying power. Their existence, always transient, depended entirely upon leadership; when that was withdrawn the group melted away. The inspiration of the leaders' personality was all that could be set against the deterrent to organization produced by the want of permanence in a woman's wage-earning life." Only through long experience came conversion to protective legislation;

the women workers then agitated for the appointment of women factory inspectors and the work done by the first women factory inspectors set a high standard of devotion to duty, and inspired confidence in the impartial and just administration of the law.

A more progressive policy of joint organization developed in the Trade Unions. The appointment of women officers and a frank recognition of women in the workshop assisted the growth of Trade Unionism among women. The Trade Union movement no longer divides on sex lines, as is evidenced by the decision of the Trades Union Congress (1925), which unanimously resolved that "one of the most essential steps towards the fulfilment of the industrial workers' charter was the efficient organization of women and the raising of the standard of their wages and conditions of labour." Two women are elected by the Congress annually to serve on its General Council.

This progress towards better standards brings with it fresh difficulties. The younger generation now entering the industrial world accepts the hardly won protective regulations as a matter of course—there is no realization of the struggle to obtain minimum wage rates, etc., and there is a consequent indifference to the need for continuous effort to hold these gains and to make further progress; there are also more distractions—the cinema, the dance-room and the sports ground—to occupy the greater leisure won for them by generations that had ploughed and sowed for this harvest, but who died before the reaping.

The modern girl is far more independent than the girl of the earlier generation. She forms her own circle of friends, plans her own amusements, is emancipated from home controls; she does not bow to public opinion, she thinks she *makes* it, but a mechanical age whose motive power is frankly stated by captains of industry to be "self-interest" has its effect upon the women's outlook no less than on that of men. Their environment imposes a manifest check to the spirit of service and fosters a self-regarding individualism.

Modern industrialism has hastened the drift from the countryside to great urban centres. In 1801 only 16·7 of our populations lived in large towns. To-day only 6 per cent. of our working population get their living on the land, so that we have a deserted countryside and terrible overcrowding in our cities and towns.

In the spacious days of small communities, the mother, although

without proper equipment, had at least the opportunity and, to a great extent, the capacity to train her daughter for home-building. She was a woman of a hundred trades in connexion with the bringing up of her family. It has remained for twentieth-century industrialism to threaten both that opportunity and that capacity with extinction, and, by sub-division and specialization, reduce the girlhood of the day to the position of a cog in the factory plant, a lodger in the overcrowded house doomed by the system to feed upon ready-made foods, wear ready-made clothes, and to be bombarded by a Press which supplies ready-made opinions and stunt sensations.

It is not suggested that the abolition of mechanical power and the factory plant and a return to hand industries is any solution. It is, however, strongly urged that mechanical power must be controlled to serve the common good, and not, as at present, to tend to the subordination of human needs—of creative power, of originality—to “making money.”

It is of interest to consider some feminist tendencies which apparently developed as women emerged into the world of contract labour.

Following the Civil War, the Restoration witnessed a decline in morality, a lowering of the standard of womanhood among the leisured classes, and an accentuation of degrading ceaseless toil for the labourer's wife, the bearing and burying of children taking up an unduly large part of her life; this horrible overbearing of, and subsequent loss of, infant life being accepted as the dispensation of Providence.

Throughout the nineteenth century, with the rise of industrialism, two tendencies may be observed: (*a*) the segregation in the home of the middle-class woman and (*b*) the disintegration of the home life of the industrial worker. The cry of the middle-class woman was for freedom and equality. The cry of the working woman was for security from the haunting shadow of poverty and some rest from excessive labour.

The working-class woman is untroubled by the fact that English law gives her no legal right to any part of her husband's income. Her moral and economic right is so unmistakable; without her management, labour and careful budgeting, the man's wage would be unable to yield him such comforts as he gets from it, and the sense of equal partnership in the home is shared between them. But

her mate's economic position is so precarious that he is unable to guarantee stability for the home, and motherhood is aroused on behalf of the young ones. As the economic system refuses her man the right to the soil, as he cannot hunt, nor own his own tools, as she finds she cannot continue to build the home fire and feed her young, she enlarges the area of social responsibility and demands that child nurture shall be a social concern.

The other point of view is expressed by the middle-class woman, humiliated by the sense of economic dependence upon a husband who requires only that she shall be his wife to assist him socially and be the mother of such children as they agree to have. She is not regarded as having any particular economic value; in fact, the men of her class have to decide if they can afford the "luxury" of marriage. This naturally throws such an emphasis upon the sex bond as to create an abnormal relationship against which the feminist has been in open revolt since the days of Mary Wollstonecraft.

The feminist movement, therefore, joins with the working-class mothers in demanding family endowment as the surest road to economic freedom for women and a guaranteed start in life for the child. Large-hearted women like Eleanor Rathbone, who are themselves economically free, being the possessors of inherited wealth, join with the dispossessed in urging that women should have in their own right their fair share of the wealth that is socially produced and to which they, by their own unpaid services, have always made and continue to make such a large contribution.

In the world of production, the women's underpaid labour power has been used to create a vast number of industries; she demands an equal status with men in the product of this labour.

In political life women have fought for and are winning legal equality in respect of property and of citizenship. But whatever women may do in industry, or in politics, fundamentally they have been home-builders since they first planted grain on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates; and far more fundamental is the pursuit of a positive position of security in the recognition by society of woman's foundational work for the race. Does she not bring into the world all labour power without which the raw material would have no economic value? Would the words "property" and "citizenship" have any meaning if she did not face the valley of the shadow of death to bring life into the world?

In Great Britain 700,000 mothers give birth to children annually. Of these 3,000 mothers per annum have died in the last ten years, and vastly greater numbers have been permanently injured or invalided in the process of child-birth. It is true that there has been a remarkable decline in infant mortality. In 1902 infant mortality was at the rate of 133 per thousand, and in 1922 77 per thousand. There has, however, been no reduction of infant deaths during the first month after birth. The Ministry of Health Annual Report states that the maternity returns reveal only a part of the total damage and disability suffered by women in child-birth, and that an incalculable amount of unreported and often untreated injury and ill-health result from pregnancy and labour; this in spite of the work of many progressive and competent local health authorities in relation to maternity and child welfare and pre-natal education and care. Is it to be wondered at that there is an insistent demand for maternity and childhood endowment and for that knowledge which would enable the working-class mother to control birth, knowledge which she knows to be accessible to and acted upon by women of the wealthy classes? It may be said that this demand indicates a revolt against motherhood—a desire to satisfy the instinct for sexual intercourse while thwarting its primary purpose. No woman who has studied contemporary society can ignore the fact that such motives exist among women as among men. A society which has implicitly sanctioned the practice of prostitution for the lustful satisfaction of men who are not expected to exercise that self-control in sex matters that is habitually expected of women, must not be surprised if there are women who claim equality with men in the satisfaction of their emotions regardless of racial obligations. But the Church will make a fatal blunder if it discerns nothing more than that in the modern movement.

Through the generations women became conscious of the degradation of being the property of the man, by sale or by conquest. Some women are now conscious of the degradation of unwilling or accidental motherhood. They are convinced of the right of the child to be well born—they want to ensure that its coming shall be planned for and welcomed. The danger here is not of a lapse into wanton self-indulgence, but of an over-anxiety to play providence to the child to such an extent as to frustrate the mother's own purpose. The Church will be powerless to influence events among this

finer type of motherhood by thundering taboos. Even Catholic women will remain unmoved—except in the direction of alienation from organized religion. Women believe they have a right to all the knowledge that will help them to function efficiently in the great work that is theirs alone.

Yet it is necessary to insist that the available teaching of birth control is not infallible, and if it were the only people fitted to use this knowledge are those who have also learnt self-control. Otherwise, what appears to promise the alleviation of an intolerable position may only create a still more dreadful bondage.

In this admittedly dangerous phase it is important to realize that if a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, the only remedy is more knowledge, more light, more freedom, more faith, until experience brings that wisdom which recognizes that there is no freedom worth having except freedom to serve the highest. The mere assertion that the Church does not sanction such knowledge as it may tend to a self-regarding shrinking from hardship, struggle, and discipline, and may rob life of its purest joys, is not accepted by the young generation merely on authority. They want to know, and only experience can teach them; and from it they will acquire in time that self-discipline of the spirit and will which is so infinitely stronger than that of merely external control.

But in this controversy, the younger generation are supported by mature women who have developed a social consciousness. Groups of organized women such as attend the Women's Co-operative Guild and the Labour Women's Annual Conferences are the finest type of working-class motherhood—the great home-builders—who cannot be accused of disregarding the sanctity of marriage or the obligations of parenthood. These women typify the rise of a new force which is social rather than individual—which rests on moral rather than physical supremacy. Schopenhauer declares the root quality of evil in woman is *that the race is always to her more than the individual*. But in the age that is dawning it will be her title to honour that she holds the future greater than the present and the race more than the individual; to this we may look as a potent factor in the development of the international mind and hail in it the promise of the future oneness of humanity.

The enormous growth of social services in sanitation, transport, education, lighting, heating, public parks and playgrounds, health

services and insurances, all help to create a social habit of mind and to hasten the time when the common good will supplant self-interest as the normal incentive of trade and commerce; and when the present errors of wealth distribution are corrected and the rivalry of classes and nations correspondingly composed, family life built on mutual love and respect will have a chance to develop.

The Church should emphasize the fact that with every widening of the area of responsibility there needs to be a consciousness of personal co-operation for the common good, a sterner self-discipline, a deeper sense of the purpose of life and a readiness to substitute voluntary for involuntary sacrifices. The inevitable social and economic developments of our times in their effect upon women and upon family life do, in fact, contain potentialities for far higher social relationships, for the building of the finest self-disciplined democracy the world has ever known, for a really Christian civilization. Alternatively, if religion ceases to count in the life of the individual, the industrially and politically developed nations of the modern world are threatened with a rapid decadence and final collapse.

In the parable of the sheep and the goats, it is on *nations* that the judgment falls, for their failure to meet physical no less than spiritual needs. "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto the least of these . . ." (Matthew xxv. 41-46). The little child set in the midst of them was commended to the protection of all. "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones . . ." (Matthew xviii. 6). Christ's definition of the family is wide: "Whoso doeth the will of My Father the same is My brother and sister and mother" (Matthew xx. 50). Surely, then, this development of social responsibility demanded by women should be hailed by Christendom as a sign of the coming of the Kingdom on Earth.

Will women bring a new influence into trade and commerce? Will they insist on a finer use of science than that of destruction? Will they make religion operative in the common ways of life and sanctify the getting of our daily bread—make work a sacrament, the world a home and all mankind a family?

The issue will be determined by the degree to which the spirit of Christ directs the individual will and dominates our social activities.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHRISTIAN OUTLOOK AND THE CHILD OF TO-DAY

BY H. CRICHTON MILLER, M.A., M.D.

Less than a century ago children were working eighteen hours a day in factories. Then came pioneers who championed the claims of the younger generation to fair and gentle treatment, followed by the recognition of the right of the child to spiritual freedom.

ONE of the most prominent features of modern civilization is that of compassion. If the world has progressed in nothing else it can at least be claimed that public opinion is wonderfully compassionate compared to the cruelty of ancient times, the callousness of the Middle Ages and the savagery of uncivilized people. We tend to judge the degree of civilization attained by a nation in terms of the treatment it accords to vanquished enemies, criminals, minorities, women and children. This great social virtue has its roots in primitive instinct. Some psychologists have specified an instinct of tenderness. In general, we can only say that in so far as we inherit an instinct of this description from our animal ancestors it amounts to nothing more than the parental instinct. This love of the parent for its offspring has become—or is becoming—a generalized attitude of compassion for the weak and helpless. Modern civilization protests against every overt act of cruelty to child or beast, to foe or miscreant. Its frequent failures of compassion it feels bound to explain away by sophistries often so elaborate as to indicate clearly the uneasiness of the social conscience. We are apt to take for granted this factor of compassion in civilization. It is claimed that we pity and succour the helpless because we are civilized. But, in point of fact, it is to the Christian principle that civilization owes pre-eminently and perhaps exclusively the transmutation of the parental instinct of tenderness into the social ideal of compassion. It follows, therefore, that the child of to-day in civilized communities owes to Christianity such gentleness, forbearance, and devotion as it encounters.

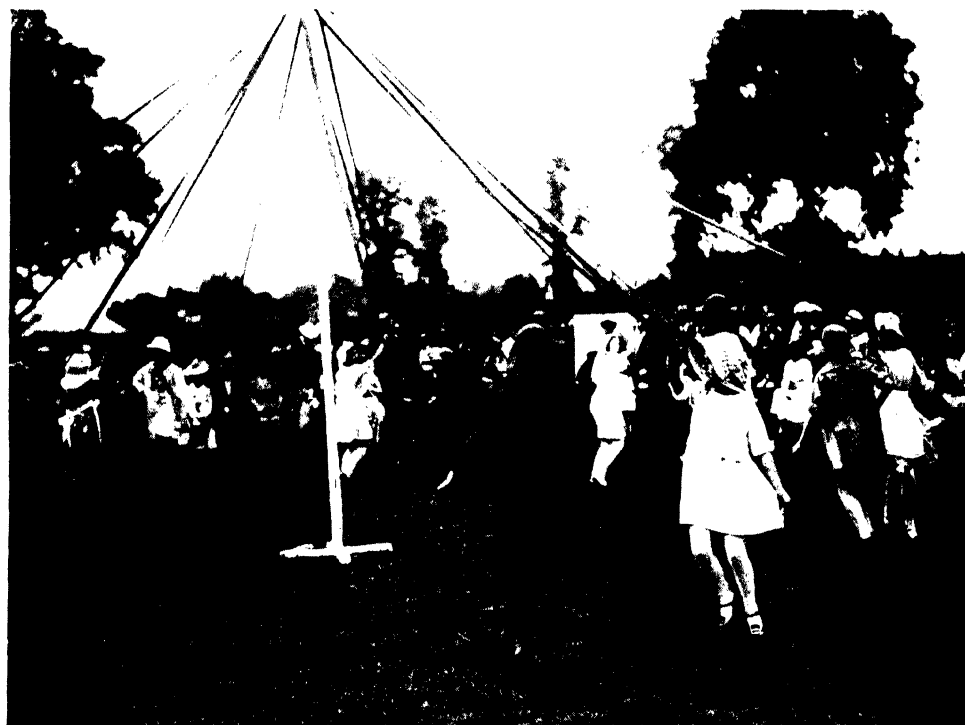
We have but to cast our eyes a short way back in history or across



SCOUTS CAMPING.



SCOUTS BEING INSTRUCTED IN WIRELESS.



COUNTRY CHILDREN ENJOYING A MAYPOLE DANCE.



DELICATE SCHOOL CHILDREN BEING TAUGHT IN THE OPEN AIR.

the seas to-day to realize the immensity of the change. Less than one hundred years ago children were working eighteen hours a day in Lancashire factories, and the brutalities of the American slave trade were in vogue. To-day in India children are being "dedicated" to the service of certain temples for nameless purposes of lust, and in Africa infanticide is practised by certain tribes in all cases of twin births.

Call it Christianity or call it civilization, the child of to-day has totally new value and greatly improved status. But modern educationists have stressed another aspect of the child problem. They have pointed out that the child cannot realize himself unless in the first place he be given spiritual and intellectual freedom. A couple of generations ago this was not contemplated by the most benevolent champions of the child. Pioneers like Shaftesbury championed the rights of the child to fair and gentle treatment. But it never occurred to them apparently that you can set a child's body free and yet hold its mind in thrall. Ignatius Loyola stated the literal truth when he formulated the oft-quoted aphorism, "Give me the first five years of a child's life, and I care not who has the rest." Re-stated in psychological terms this is equivalent to saying that in the first five years of life impressions can be made on a child's mind that will have a permanent and determinant influence on conduct. It was Freud who showed us the profound truth of Loyola's dictum. From his teaching we have been able to realize the astonishing degree to which human conduct is influenced all through life, wittingly and unwittingly, by early impressions that have created fear repressions, loyalty complexes, and the like. And whether we accept Freud's teaching in whole or in part, we are bound to recognize in this a great negation of freedom. We see now that what was once the boast of educationists is in reality a matter to be ashamed of. If we can so work on a child's mind as to ensure that he will live and die a good Protestant or a good Mohammedan, a fervent Fabian or a zealous Tory, a rabid patriot or a convinced internationalist, if we can do these things, it is because we can deprive him of spiritual liberty and intellectual freedom for the rest of his life. In this respect Christendom, thanks to crude and narrow sectarianism, has failed too obviously. Indeed, it is only in recent years that enlightened thought in the Christian world has recognized in any degree the right of the child to spiritual freedom. Many have reached the

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point of tolerating nonconformity in their neighbours who would not stand it for a moment in their own children. But if the Christian world has failed in the past, the non-Christian world is still more at fault. Where is the Jew who ignores the Day of Atonement with an easy mind? If a man be born a Moslem, will he ever taste pork? Has not the Soviet government openly organized education so as to ensure that the children will bear into adult life an ineradicable hatred of capitalism?

It is generally safe to infer in this life that those who exercise their authority unduly are conscious of some unconfessed weakness in their position. It is true of rulers, of teachers, of religionists, and of parents. If the exponents of Christianity believed enough in their Gospel they would be more ready to give to the young that freedom of spirit which allows them to approach the philosophical problems of life without trammels of family loyalty or fetters of superstitious fear. There are, fortunately, signs of rapid progress in many quarters. Dogmatic religious teaching is less common and in any case less uncompromising. The children's crusades of many varieties are less vociferous, as it becomes increasingly doubtful whether you can with justice crystallize in childhood an attitude to, say, alcohol or capitalism. And so the child of to-day is treated not only with kindness but also with tolerance.

But this is not all. Freedom in education is not an end but a condition. It is a necessary condition of self-realization. If the child is to attain to his twofold destiny of social value and personal harmony, he must have more than security and freedom. He must have opportunity. Froebel worked a great change in our educational ideas and ideals by introducing the principle of interest, but he left it largely to the teacher to introduce the interest. Montessori in the present generation set on foot an even greater reform based on the principle that given adequate variety and opportunity the child would find the interest for himself.

Another pioneer approaching the problem from a totally different angle hit upon the same principle. Baden-Powell in founding the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements has provided opportunity and variety of interest on a very ample scale. The result is that these two movements exhibit a vitality which proves beyond a doubt the basic soundness of the principle. The Dalton system is another application of the principle that given adequate oppor-



HIS FIRST OFFENCE.

By LADY STANLEY.

tunity the child uses, instead of abusing, freedom. Similarly, there are modern schools where the curriculum has been widened so as to give vastly increased opportunity and in every case freedom has been utilized with the happiest results. The genius of Sanderson, of Oundle, did for the adolescent public school boy what Montessori had done for the child of kindergarten age. In each case emancipation from authority and restraint was associated with interest emanating from adequate opportunity. And if we examine the many cases in which a system of so-called "free education" has resulted in failure, we find that the source of that failure lay for the most part in the insufficient scope for interest that went with it.

The fourth and most vital characteristic of the education of to-day is idealism. And this, perhaps more than any of the three previous features, is essentially Christian in its origin. The training of the child up till recently was regarded as a process of moulding. The adult was the potter and the child was the clay. But with our wider conceptions of development and our more accurate knowledge of inborn characteristics we realize that the function of the adult might be more suitably compared to that of the gardener. He has no power to determine the ultimate nature of the plant, but he can, by withholding or providing suitable conditions, greatly influence the plant's growth. His business is to see that each bulb develops into the best possible plant that it is capable of becoming.

So it is in education. Kindness, freedom, and opportunity can go a long way, but they may leave the child without any sort of idealism. He may be intelligent, spontaneous, alert, and even creative, but wholly egocentric. Now altruism was part of the code that Christian educators used to impress on their pupils. It was often impressed with the aid of a penal system, and the penal system was justified by the biblical dictum about sparing the rod and spoiling the child. Man's duty to his neighbour was presented to the child mind as a matter fraught with possibilities of reward and punishment in life and after death, this world and the next. Slowly, astonishingly slowly, as it seems to us now, it dawned on the Christian mind that Christianity was not primarily an affair of conduct but of motives; that a morality based upon fear had little ethical value; that society was better served by volunteers than by conscripts, and that man's social adjustment depended more upon an internal dynamic than on external pressure.

To understand why the Christian mind has so long resisted this conception of dynamic idealism as opposed to prescribed conduct, we must realize how much easier it is to inculcate a doctrine than to transmit an ideal. For the former task we need but to know the doctrine; for the latter we must experience the dynamic quality of the ideal in ourselves.

All this is bound up with the essential character of Christianity as an evolutionary religion, and here lies the most fundamental contrast between it and all other religions or systems of philosophy. Outside the Christian world the child is a chattel of the adult, whose duty is to train him to follow in the footsteps of his ancestors. The conception is a static one; the keyword is tradition; the dynamic is adult authority. Christianity, adequately apprehended, regards the child as a bundle of latent potentialities; it holds out a Pattern only once exemplified in human life; it endeavours to transmit to him an ideal of service; it demands of him progressive adaptation in the spiritual sphere, and it provides him for this purpose with one principle, as wide in its applicability as it is searching in its challenge, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone."

The central problem for the educator of to-day is, therefore, clear enough, albeit intensely difficult. How is he to educate children so that they shall reach maturity with this dynamic ideal of service operative in their lives? The old methods are inapplicable; discipline has been overdone and has revealed its limitations; tradition has lost prestige and stimulated disastrous reaction; intellectualism is in itself sterile; an ethical code never outlives the basis of fear with which it has been presented.

The first change that the Christian educator has to make is to replace the categories of "good" and "evil" by those of "progressive" and "regressive." This at once alters the ethical centre of gravity; it substitutes the idea of progress for that of conformity; it involves the future more than the past; it implies that conation is associated with growth.

Let us take these points seriatim. By introducing the conception of progress instead of conformity, we present an unlimited ideal instead of a limited one. Christianity has suffered immeasurably in the past by being presented in terms of previous standards of conduct. It is a commonplace to hear a mother say, "If Tommy ever

grew up to be as good a man as his father, I would be perfectly satisfied." If we analyse this remark we are forced to recognize it as essentially pagan. Christianity does not allow us to accept past human attainments as adequate. It forces on us one attainment, Christ's, which never allows us to accept finality in ethical achievement. We cannot begin too early to present this view to the child, and in no single point does Christianity differ more fundamentally from other religions and philosophies. And yet we are forced to admit that Christian educators of the past have unwittingly succeeded in reducing Christian teaching to little more than a matter of conformity to a past standard—not intrinsically different from that of non-Christian religions.

In the second place, we direct the child's mind to the future instead of the past. Inevitably the child has a feeling that he and his child-world are at variance with adults and their world. This has always been so and will continue so to be. If we had longer memories we should remember this attitude in ourselves. Now the past—history in every guise—belongs to the adult, but the child recognizes that the future belongs to him and he to the future. If this be doubted, let the reader try the following simple experiment. First of all describe a historical or political situation beginning, "Twenty years ago, when I was your age . . ." After that, indulge in speculative forecast beginning, "Twenty years hence, when you are the age I am now . . ." The group is certain to be twice as alert in the second case as in the first. Each child has unconsciously identified himself with the future, whereas with the past his interest was merely second-hand. Christianity gives us a unique opportunity of linking up idealism, character growth, and intellectual development, and this because of its orientation to the future.

In the third place, we must associate conation with maturity. All presentations of religion—be it of Christianity or of any other religion—that involve extrinsic rewards and penalties tend to defeat this object. The highest types, mentally and spiritually, will never produce their finest response for a promised reward and still less for a threatened penalty. If human existence is necessarily an arduous adventure; if spiritual development can only be achieved at the cost of growing pains; if there is no effortless solution of the problem of life, if these things be so, the sooner we take them into consideration in education the better. The child must be led to find out for him-

self that effort brings its own reward in the incomparable sense of achievement. He can only discover this by the experience of interested attention. Montessori has proved this more completely than any other educationist. It is true that certain extrinsic rewards bring with them a sense of achievement. But rewards are not a part of the contract in life, and our pupils will be best fitted for life's journey if they have learned that "to travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive, and the true success is to labour." In substituting the categories of "progressive" and "regressive" for those of "good" and "evil," we are doing something to bring about this orientation to the future. It is an orientation which is antagonistic to the helpless fatalism that has masqueraded so often as Christianity. This helpless fatalism turns on the doctrines that God directs every circumstance of our lives for our own interests, and that He will answer—presumably in a material and direct sense—every prayer we offer for the elimination of the uncongenial from our lives. Nurseries and Sunday schools are full of such teaching, and it results in an attitude that was often encountered in the Great War. The mother who had lost her son or the wife whose husband had been killed cried petulantly, "I have lost my faith completely. I prayed so constantly and fervently for him. How can a God of love be so cruel to me?" Life was challenging them to make a progressive adaptation on a tremendous scale, to face the heartache and the loneliness with "the serenity that comes from living close to God," and all the response they could make was a self-pitying protest against God's injustice. If we have any experience of vital Christianity we must see to it that from the earliest times our pupils and children get from us something more durable and dynamic than this helpless fatalism.

But, in addition to this gospel of progress, we have to transmit to the children another outlook, namely, that life is, on the whole, trustworthy. That it is not wholly trustworthy is implicit in the fact that it is an adventure. But life is an adventure in which knowledge, practice, prudence and, above all, effort, tend to reduce the risks enormously. And whether these risks are chiefly envisaged as emanating from society or from circumstance, from bodily appetites or from economic demands, it is our business to infect the child with a feeling of reasonable enthusiasm for the great adventure. Many well-meaning teachers and parents have succeeded in making

such enthusiasm quite impossible. Every experienced psychotherapist could tell of many cases of mal-development manifested in minor, even major, mental disorder which was attributable to such a cause. In childhood the patient had been made to feel that the challenge of life was hopelessly exacting. The writer recalls two cases of refusal or inability to eat. The one was an undergraduate of twenty-two who, by long abstention from food, had reached death's door. He was cadaverous and too weak to stand. The central feature of his case was that his father, a godly and successful merchant, had announced to him in his schooldays that he wanted the boy to be a medical missionary. As God had prospered him in his business he had set aside the necessary funds to enable his son to go to the mission field as an honorary missionary. The bewildered child could only acquiesce. But in his heart of hearts he knew three things and knew them with passionate conviction: (*a*) that he would never be able to qualify as a doctor, (*b*) that he was not good enough to be a missionary, and (*c*) that he wanted to earn his living. The father's excellent plan presented an impossible challenge and at the same time robbed him of the chance of economic achievement.

Another case is that of a girl of twenty who had reached the danger zone of starvation. Her parents had destined her for mathematical honours at Cambridge, and she was told that if she was not prepared to carry out this plan she might remain at home in New Zealand. She was afraid of the mathematical tripos and felt sure she would never win through; she hated New Zealand in general and home in particular. She only wanted to be allowed freedom to earn her living in some secure and unambitious way. But the parents only gave an alternative—freedom and the big mental achievement, or commonplace duties at home. In each of these cases there was a shrinking from the intellectual task chosen by the parents and a craving to make good economically along simpler lines. The child's sense of inadequacy is a far more constant factor than is generally imagined. Superficial observers are misled by swagger and bluff into believing that children tend to be sure—perhaps too sure—of themselves. But these manifestations are compensatory and more often than not are indulged in to cover the true sense of inadequacy. Hence it behoves us to inspire the children with the idea that life, in general, is trustworthy. This cannot be done by mere inculcation. We can only infect our pupils and our children with such a feeling

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towards life; in other words, it must represent our own attitude. Much harm is done by parents and teachers who are themselves imbued with a "safety first" spirit. This spirit, whether it be directed to hell fire or chest colds, soon kills the spirit of adventure. It turns out children who are afraid to forget their prayers or to leave their waterproofs at home. Children should be made to recognize early that God has a special favour for adventurous spirits, and that He listens more readily to prayers spontaneously offered than to those prompted by a fear impulse.

We cannot, however, escape from the impression that this source of danger to character growth is on the increase. The higher the cultural level the more accentuated appears the tendency to avoid risks for the children and to infect them with an all-pervading apprehensiveness. Perhaps the reason lies chiefly in the number of parents who have but a single child, or perhaps two children, to care for. To a great extent they regard the child—unconsciously, of course—as an extension of their own personality, and therefore their exaggerated concern for the child's welfare is a measure of their own self-love. From such an origin we cannot expect robust character to be developed.

There is another and very different point at which the Christian outlook has an important bearing on education. Materialist psychologists are prone to criticize religious teaching on the score that it provides a phantasy escape from reality for the child. This criticism needs careful consideration. All phantasy may be classed as progressive or compensatory. Creative phantasy, which is clearly progressive, does not enter into the present question. Inspiratory phantasy is also progressive, or should be. The schoolgirl who dreams of winning the class prize, the schoolboy who dreams of gaining his school colours, the soldier who dreams of a V.C., the explorer who dreams of attaining his distant goal, all these are presumably being inspired by their respective phantasies to make better adaptations to reality. But compensatory phantasy is regressive. It consists in substituting for an uncongenial situation in reality a more congenial situation in phantasy. It provides an escape and as such it makes for less adequate adjustments.

Reference has already been made to the child's sense of inadequacy. This reaches its maximum in the boy at puberty. It is then that the disparity is most marked between his virile aspirations and

his puerile limitations. The result of this disparity is an escape into phantasy, and the phantasies of omnipotence belong particularly to this period. To this category belong such stories as that of David and Goliath, fairy tales such as Jack the Giant-killer, and, in modern drama, Peter Pan and Captain Hook. These symbolize the impatience of the boy's mind to achieve power; his reluctance to accept his own real limitations. Critics have justly pointed out the danger we court by stressing the readiness of the Almighty to carry out the behests of pious little children. For example, Tommy, aged eight, prays fervently one night that God may make Willie Brown a good boy and stop him from cheating and swearing. Tommy's mother goes down to her husband and recounts with simple gratification this touching evidence of their son's new missionary zeal. The true facts of the case are that Willie Brown, being a couple of years older and fully a stone heavier, had that morning evilly entreated the luckless Tommy. Tommy's thirst for vengeance conflicted seriously with his physical limitations in reality. Then he thought of an omnipotent God, ever ready to make an alliance with good little boys, and it occurred to him that by this means he could at any rate ensure a measure of unwelcome, and anonymous, interference in the life of his foe. This sounds puerile, but it is what is bound to occur as the result of Christianity being presented to children unduly simplified, or rather inadequately apprehended by the adults. It is said that in a certain large church in New York public prayer is offered weekly for the success of the church's baseball team. This seems a remarkably close analogy to Tommy's prayer activity. God must not be presented as the never-failing escape from trouble, nor as the storehouse of material blessings, nor yet as the source of power to be commandeered for external purposes. Children must, of course, have the subjective presented to them in an objective form, but this is no justification for directing their phantasy along paths that do not lead towards the central truth of Christianity. It behoves parents and teachers, therefore, to know very clearly in their own minds what is the significance of any given allegory, myth, legend, or fairy tale before they pass it on to the children. They all contain subjective truth no doubt, but much of it is cynical, much of it belongs to a very immature phase of human thought, and if it is taught indiscriminately it is likely that much of it will have to be painfully unlearned.

BOOK II

THE COMMUNITY AS THE NEW UNIT

Our relations to the community inevitably create a host of responsibilities of all kinds, social, legal, and economic; responsibilities that are always imperative while often intricate and obscure. In meeting them the Christian motive is of the very first importance.

Chapter V. CITY LIFE

VI. COUNTRY LIFE

VII. CITY PLANNING

VIII. THE INDIVIDUAL'S RESPONSIBILITY TO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

IX. LAW AND THE CHRISTIAN CODE

X. BUSINESS ETHICS AND CHRISTIAN STANDARDS

XI. THE RIGHT OF OWNERSHIP

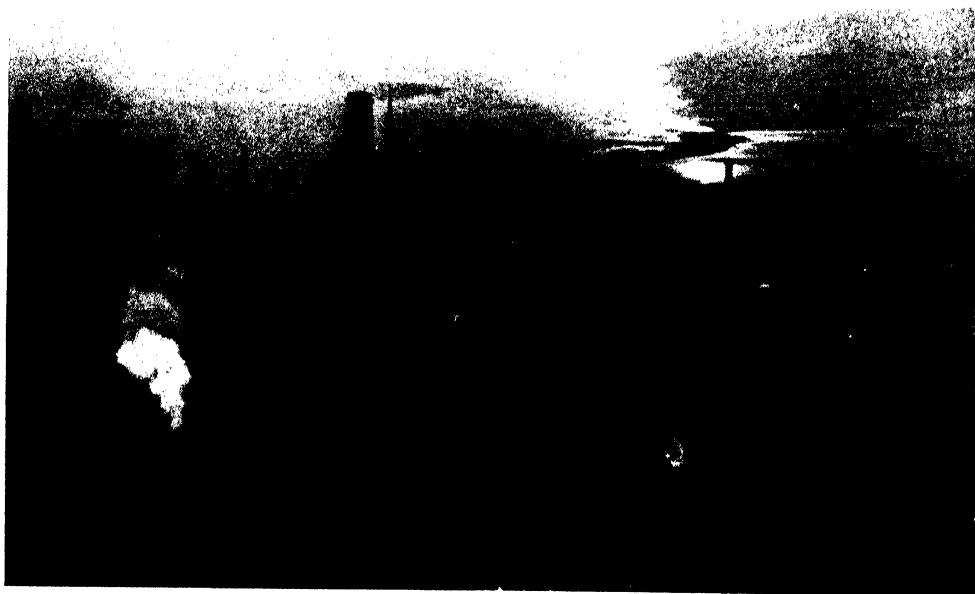
XII. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR CHRISTIANITY



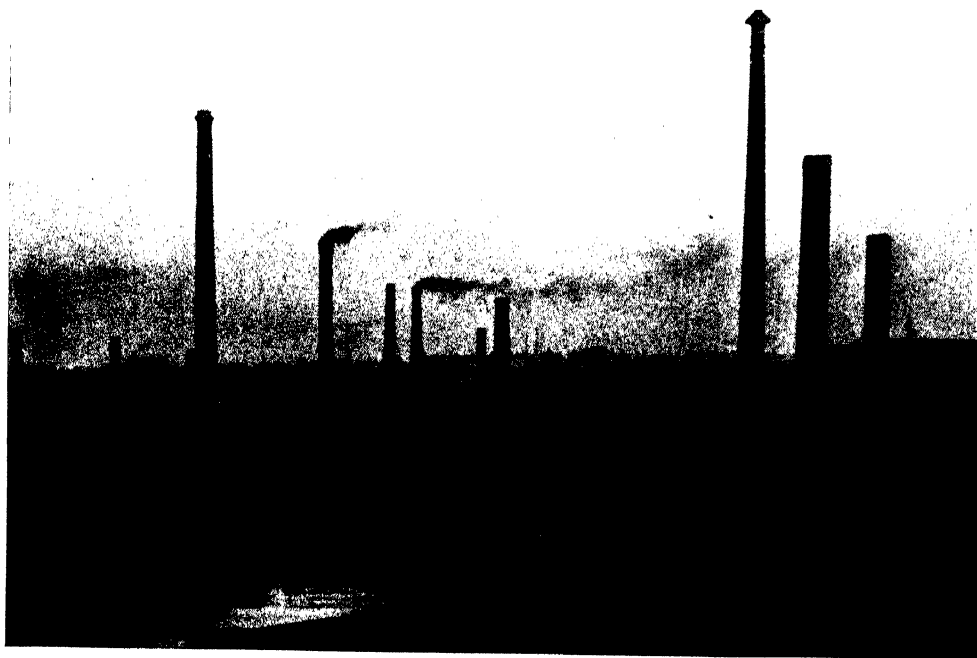
JESUS CRYING OVER THE CITY.

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By P. H. FLANDRIN.



THE WORK-A-DAY WORLD.



LABOUR.

(Copyright: Judge's, Ltd.)

CHAPTER V

CITY LIFE

BY THE REV. CANON PETER GREEN, M.A.

Probably no problems in our civilization are more insistent than those of the city. Life in a great overcrowded town is essentially unnatural, and only by working for the establishment of the City of God can the evils be met and conquered.

WHATEVER changes may be brought about in the future, possibly in the near future, by the motor-car, by the substitution of electric power, generated at a few centres and then distributed widely, for steam power generated on the spot where it is to be used, and by other developments of applied science, it cannot be denied that at present the concentration of population in urban areas gives rise to many of the most difficult and most pressing problems with which Christianity is confronted.

It is now more than a quarter of a century since the bishop of what is now the diocese of Southwark spoke of the vast area stretching from Battersea in the South-West of London to Islington in the North as the greatest stretch of uninterrupted poverty and squalor in the world, which wraps the city of London round on three of its four sides like some great cancer wrapped round a man's heart. Nor, though an area containing two and half million people, mostly poor, is unique, does London present the only or indeed the chief population problems that the Church has to face. The population of Manchester and forty miles round is greater than that of London and forty miles round, and the urbanization of the industrial North is well illustrated by the fact that, except for one short distance of less than a mile, a man could travel by tram from Liverpool to Hull, not indeed without changing, but without doing more than get off one tram and on to another. And the concentration of population in the pottery districts, along the Tyne side, and in South Wales presents to the Christian moral and spiritual problems as urgent and

as hard to solve as the civic, industrial, and sanitary problems which these huge masses of humanity present to the civil authorities.

In studying these problems and trying to understand how best we may attack them, the chief difficulty is to find a point of view from which to look at subject-matter so vast, diverse and complicated. A useful point of view may be supplied, perhaps, by two considerations :—

1. For those who are dealing with moral and spiritual problems “the City” means not the buildings, the bricks and stones of which the city is composed, but the men and women who inhabit it. We shall not deny, and still less shall we ignore, the effect of material factors. But our interest is in human beings.

2. The problems we have to consider may be greatly simplified, without loss of comprehensiveness or value, by treating mainly of the effects of city life on the young. For if there is one lesson which modern psychology teaches it is the importance of the influences brought to bear on the child during its early years. And if there is one thing which social workers learn by experience it is the extreme difficulty of influencing adults, and altering habits that have become second nature, as compared with the ease with which children can be moulded and formed.

Let us then briefly sketch the conditions under which great masses of people live in our large urban areas, and then seek to understand how the conditions permanently affect the mentality and the physical health of boys and girls. We may then be in a position to suggest the most promising lines of work for organized Christianity.

The conditions under which the workers live in our large towns all spring from, or in some way connect with, the determining factor of poverty. But this poverty again shows itself in many ways. There is the segregation of classes. When employers lived over their places of business, or at least near to them and among their work-people, the condition of things was necessarily better, more human and more humane, than when the employer lives far off in the country and knows nothing of his workers except in working hours. And the same problem meets us at the other end of the social scale. Whether the workers are housed in the immediate neighbourhood of the place where they work, in mean streets under the shadow of the mill, engineer’s shop or factory, and in over-crowded cottages

in mining villages, or whether, as in South London and London-over-the-Border, and in similar "dormitory" districts of other large towns, the workers' scanty leisure is further encroached on by long journeys by tram or train, morning and night, convenience, beauty and a thousand social amenities which have value as character builders are sacrificed to the need of cheap housing.

At home—within the house that is to say—the housing difficulty is an always pressing one and has grown worse since the World War. This leads to the loss or, under even the most favourable circumstances, to the weakening of the most powerful and beneficent of all factors in character building, namely the influence of the Home. In evil, even if necessary, alliance with this weakening of home influence, goes the increasing transference of the rights and duties of parents, from the father and mother to the permanent official appointed by the State, to the day school teacher, the attendance officer, the welfare worker, and the officer of the Employment Bureau. These various agencies are necessary where parents lack time and education to direct their children's lives. But all the same they must be included in the many agencies tending to weaken home influence, and as such are regretted by the best type of parent.

Congestion of large populations on a limited area, acting along with the crowded and uncomfortable character of the houses, leads to street-life in place of home life, and tends to replace the family by the gang, the herd, or the mob. This gang, herd, or mob, becomes, on a large scale, a social class, recognized and referred to as "the poor," "the workers" or "the proletariat" according to the taste of the speaker. But however referred to the class exists, is recognized as distinct, cultivates class-consciousness, and creates for itself, or rather has created for it, a literature, a press, a special department of thought and art.

No attempts to estimate the effects of city life will be adequate which do not take into account the sort of papers, magazines, novelettes and books produced exclusively for the poorer classes and quite unread by more educated people. Nor must the effects of picture post-cards of a debasing character, and of the lower type of cinema, music-hall and theatre be ignored. Man *is* what he *thinks*, and the workers of our great towns are made what they are, and are known for what they are, by their choice of reading matter

and of entertainments. Though individually capable of but small expenditure, their numbers make them a prolific source of wealth to anyone who can secure their custom, so that it becomes increasingly profitable to exploit the vices of the poorer classes by inducements to drunkenness, gambling and vice. Indeed we are forced to recognize that the drink interest is very far from being the only powerful vested interest that the churchman and the social reformer has to fight. The enormous sums spent every year on gambling, and the profits made by the book-maker, make the gambling interest an even greater menace than the drink interest.

Vice makes a third in this trinity of evil influences, and whether by the provision of actual facilities for irregular sexual indulgence, or by the provision of pornographic literature and pictures, builds up a body of powerful supporters of every social evil. Even where there is nothing actually vicious in the pictures, plays, newspapers and books provided for the poorer classes the tone is likely to be low; the outlook, since the address is to the poorly educated, is necessarily narrow; and the general result such as to make the worst, not the best minds the measure and standard of the whole class.

The environment, devoid of beauty in any form, reacts with the various mental, moral and spiritual factors to produce a type of character which, at its best, is poor material out of which to build either the State or the City of God, while at its worst the character fostered in our big towns may well be a menace to civilization. Let us see how the various factors which we have enumerated affect the rising generation of town dwellers.

Unquestionably the first and most deep-seated injury done to the character of the adolescents in big towns is the setting up in them of an inferiority complex. Readers of Dickens's "Great Expectations" will remember how the convicts, spoken to and treated like dogs, retaliated by annoying all the other passengers on the coach by which they were travelling. "They began," Dickens writes, "cracking nuts, and spitting the shells about— And I really think I should have liked to do so myself if I had been in their place and so despised." Dickens did not use the terminology of modern psychology, and talk of an inferiority complex. But he recognized the fact and its truth. Put for the word "despised" in the above sentence the word "ignored," and you have the cause of the bad manners of many poor girls and boys.

At home, many working-class fathers of the poorest class pay little or no attention to their children. Home is simply a place where they sleep; work and hours of relaxation in the poor man's club—the public-house—occupy all hours not spent in sleep. And such time as Mother can spare from cooking, cleaning, mending, washing and the ten thousand unending duties of the small house, is wholly taken up with the last child born. Not from any real lack of maternal affection, but from the necessity of the case, the elder children get little attention of the kind that makes them feel they are valued. In the streets, before they are of working age, the case is worse. To neighbours, annoyed by their noise and games, they are merely a nuisance; to the policeman an object of suspicion.

When the boy or girl is old enough to go into poorly paid labour there is no improvement. Ill-equipped to be of any real value in the labour market, they are lightly engaged and lightly dismissed, and even if unintentionally, are made to feel that they do not matter. And if anything goes wrong it is the boy who is made to feel it. As a social worker at a conference expressed it recently: "The boss gets on to the foreman, and the foreman gets on to the man, and the man gets on to the labourer, and the labourer passes it all on to the boy." Everybody will have noticed, some time or another, the behaviour of a gang of boys or rough girls in a train or tram. They shout, they push one another about, they throw the crumbs or skins or shells of anything they may be eating about the carriage; they display, in short, a total disregard for everybody's feelings and comfort. Almost certainly not one of them is consciously thinking, "Why should I care? No one cares for me." But the inferiority complex is there, none the less, and shows itself in violent self-assertion and disregard for others.

Here the remedial work of Christianity is obvious. Religion is itself an assertion of the infinite value of the individual. The very existence of the Boys' Brigade, Scout or Guide Troop, Band of Hope, Sunday School or what not is an assertion of the value of the child. And, quite without any silly petting or spoiling, the great object of every worker with the young is, or should be, to create a sense of self-respect. Most religious and social workers know how little need there is to teach good manners. The child that feels itself an object of attention, affection and pride comes almost instinctively

to respond to those influences with the good manners which are the invariable fruit of self-respect.

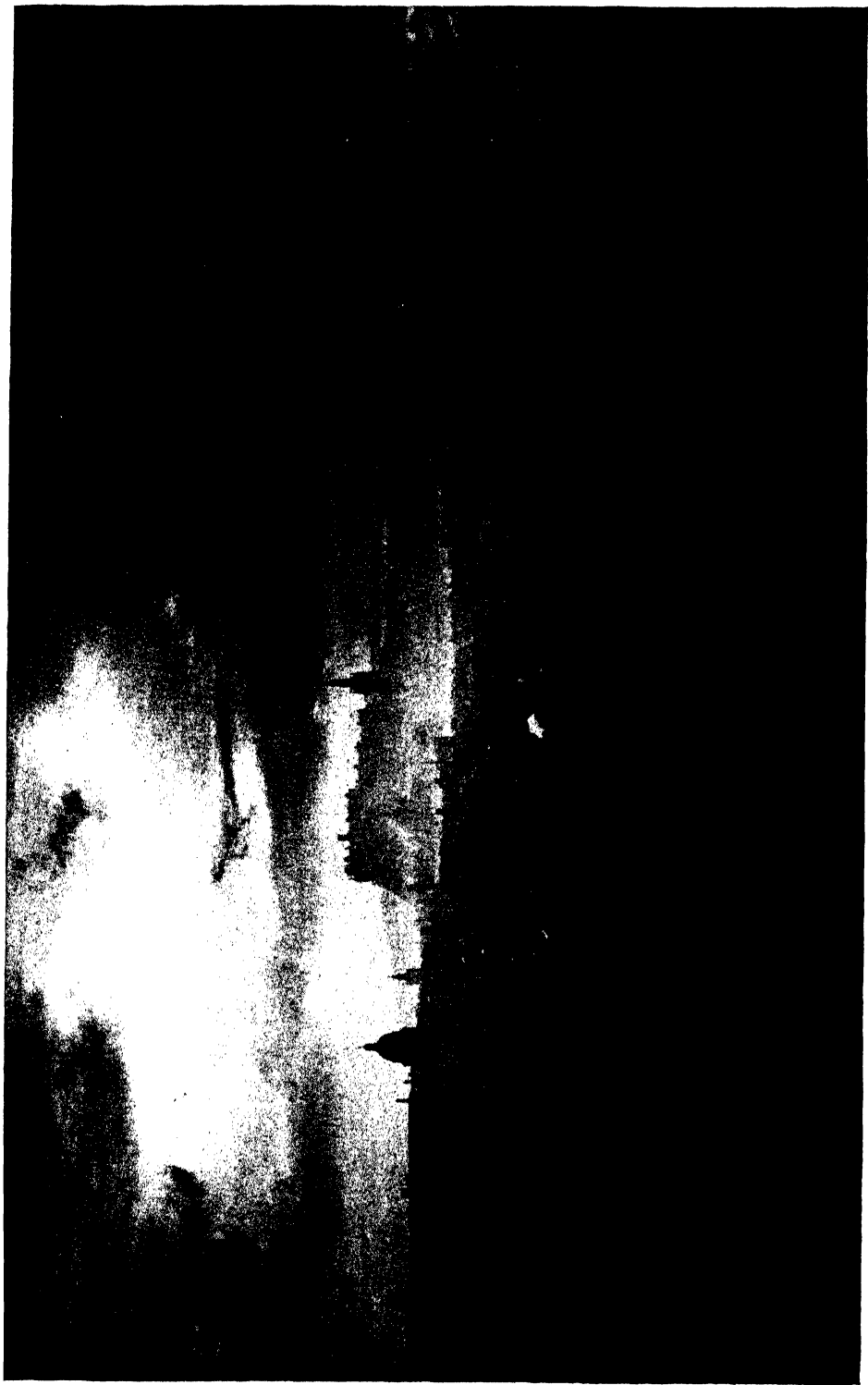
Another cause of bad manners in city children, and one closely allied to the inferiority complex which we have just been considering, is to be found in over-strained nerves. In poor neighbourhoods, where children sleep in the same room as grown-ups, no children get sleep enough. The continual noise of big cities, the rattling of vehicles over rough pavement, the hoot of motor-horns, the never-ending din of the streets combine to set many children's nerves permanently ajar. Much in children that passes for naughtiness is really mental instability due to nerves or to suppressed chorea. When to the unavoidable noises of a big city there is added nagging or bullying at home or at work, life-long injury may be done. A boy who had the name of being unmanageable by anyone, was taken into a Lads' Club Camp, treated with special gentleness, made to go to bed early, and to be out in the fresh air as much as possible. By the end of a week his whole manner had changed. Asked what it was in the camp that he enjoyed so much, he pondered for a minute and then said, "Well, you're not shouted at all day."

Here, obviously, Christianity has a work, and one, too, which can be done even without camps and summer outings. A sense of God's overshadowing power and love is a rest cure even for quite young children. And the quiet and ordered decency of church and Sunday School make them a real source of refreshment. It need scarcely be said that any juvenile organizations where discipline is allowed to be bad, where children are rated and shouted at, and where punishments are meted out, do more harm than good. The best discipline is obtained where the question of "behaviour" never comes up at all. This happy state of things can always be attained where those in authority maintain inward calm and peace themselves.

A third factor in the development of the adolescent is the right treatment of the sense of beauty. Not all people, of course, appreciate beauty to the same extent, or in the same way. But few if any are without æsthetic sensibility of some kind. An example may help. A teacher asked a class of boys, aged about thirteen, all drawn from a very poor neighbourhood, to mention some tale which they had heard or read, of heroism and nobility, which had made their hearts beat. Of course half a score were ready with the tale of Sir Philip Sidney on the battlefield. Then he asked for something



AN AERIAL VIEW OF LONDON, SHOWING ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.



NBURCH.

beautiful they had seen, not something that had been shown them, but something they had noticed for themselves. A boy from a wretched back street immediately put up his hand and said, "Our first Scout week-end camp, sir! The hillside opposite, all rough with rocks and bushes, and bluebells in between. *I can see them now when I shut my eyes.*" The boy may never write a line of poetry, but in that sentence is all the emotion of Wordsworth's "Daffodils." Now a sense of beauty, whether of form, colour, or sound, left undeveloped is not merely a potential good unrealized, a mine of happiness left unworked. It is a positive evil which, like every other repressed function, may set up a pathological condition which will poison the whole organism.

An obvious, but too much neglected part of social and religious duty is the cultivation of the beautiful. Even in poor houses simplicity can go with beauty, and what is cheap need not be ugly or vulgar. In churches, so long as the ethical character of worship is not obscured, the æsthetic side should be developed as much as possible. Poor people should have beauty in their churches, if nowhere else. The work in London of Toynbee Hall, and in Manchester of the University Settlement and the Horsefall Museum, and of similar agencies in other towns has been valuable in itself, and more valuable in spurring on municipalities to provide good music, picture galleries, and parks. But an immense amount remains to be done. The really infamous ugliness and squalor of our big towns produces the very worst moral and spiritual results in many sensitive people who are quite unconscious of what it is they are suffering from.

Obviously the duty of organized Christianity to assist, either directly by its own efforts or indirectly by the support it gives to others, in educating the æsthetic powers of adolescents is paralleled by its duty to strive for more opportunities of intellectual training for all classes. To take boys and girls from school at fourteen, and allow their education to cease at that age is to fasten on succeeding generations the evils which affect our own. Many minds, and those of the best, develop late. Often efforts at self-education in later life do harm rather than good because the student has no background of knowledge with which to relate what he reads. "Half my time," one eager young mechanic exclaimed in despair, "I don't know what I'm reading. I find books take things for granted which I've

never heard of." And many of the worst qualities which the working classes display during strikes and indeed at all times, their deep suspicion and unwillingness to believe in the integrity or loyalty of anyone, the levity with which they take up a position and the greater levity with which they drop it the next day, their subservience to their class leaders, and their apparent inability to be faithful to their own leaders when they have chosen them, all these are the faults of men who know that they are too ignorant, too deficient of any wide knowledge of books or of life, to trust their own judgment. They are like men moving in a fog, in which a tree is taken for an enemy with an uplifted club, and a few sheep pass for an attacking pack of wolves. When men know that they cannot trust their own judgment they cannot know whom to trust.

The churches then must never cease to press for better educational opportunities for the poorer classes. In the meanwhile they themselves are a great educational agency. It is no accident that the Free Churches, and more especially, in the past, the poorer and smaller denominations, such as the Primitive Methodists, the Bible Christians, and similar bodies, have been the training ground from which many leaders in the Labour Movement have sprung. Every denomination has its strong and its weak points, and an Anglican need not therefore be ashamed to admit that the Church of England has been too aristocratic in character, too hierarchical in government to be a good training ground where men who have had few opportunities of education may learn the arts of government and of administration.

It is not, however, only those who take an active part in the government of a church who gain real education from religion. Religion is, in itself, an education of the imagination, the sympathies, the intellect and the will. The working lad who is a keen missionary enthusiast must know much of foreign lands and peoples and customs and faiths of which the lad whose only interest is "picking winners" knows nothing.

Closely allied to, and a fruit of, defective education is the lack of originality. City life too often stunts and retards the development of personality. The behaviour and the mentality of masses of young people in our great towns might almost be expressed in the words of a song which enjoyed a brief popularity some years ago, "We all go the same way home." Dull and monotonous work, involving

almost no mental effort, but consisting of the constant repetition of the same mechanical process, develops no powers of the mind. And in hours of recreation there is, alike in adolescents and in adults, the constant tendency to use the same expressions, sing the same songs, think the same thoughts, and lose all individuality in one common "herd" consciousness. Indeed the teacher or social worker is often tempted to think that crime itself, if it displayed any tendency to break away from stereotyped ways of thought and action, would be preferable to the deadening level of unintelligent sameness. A farm hand working much alone, and possessing a small vocabulary of 300 to 500 words, may seem at first far less educated than the more ready and talkative slum dweller. In reality he may well be far more developed. Life has educated him. He is a skilled worker in a very skilled trade, that namely of agriculture; and nature, the care of live animals, the need of doing many different tasks, the full meaning and purpose of which he understands, and doing them with few and poor tools, and the fullness and naturalness of his life, combine to educate him. The town dweller, fluently repeating catch phrases and thinking other men's thoughts, often disgusts one with his shallowness and essential meanness and poverty.

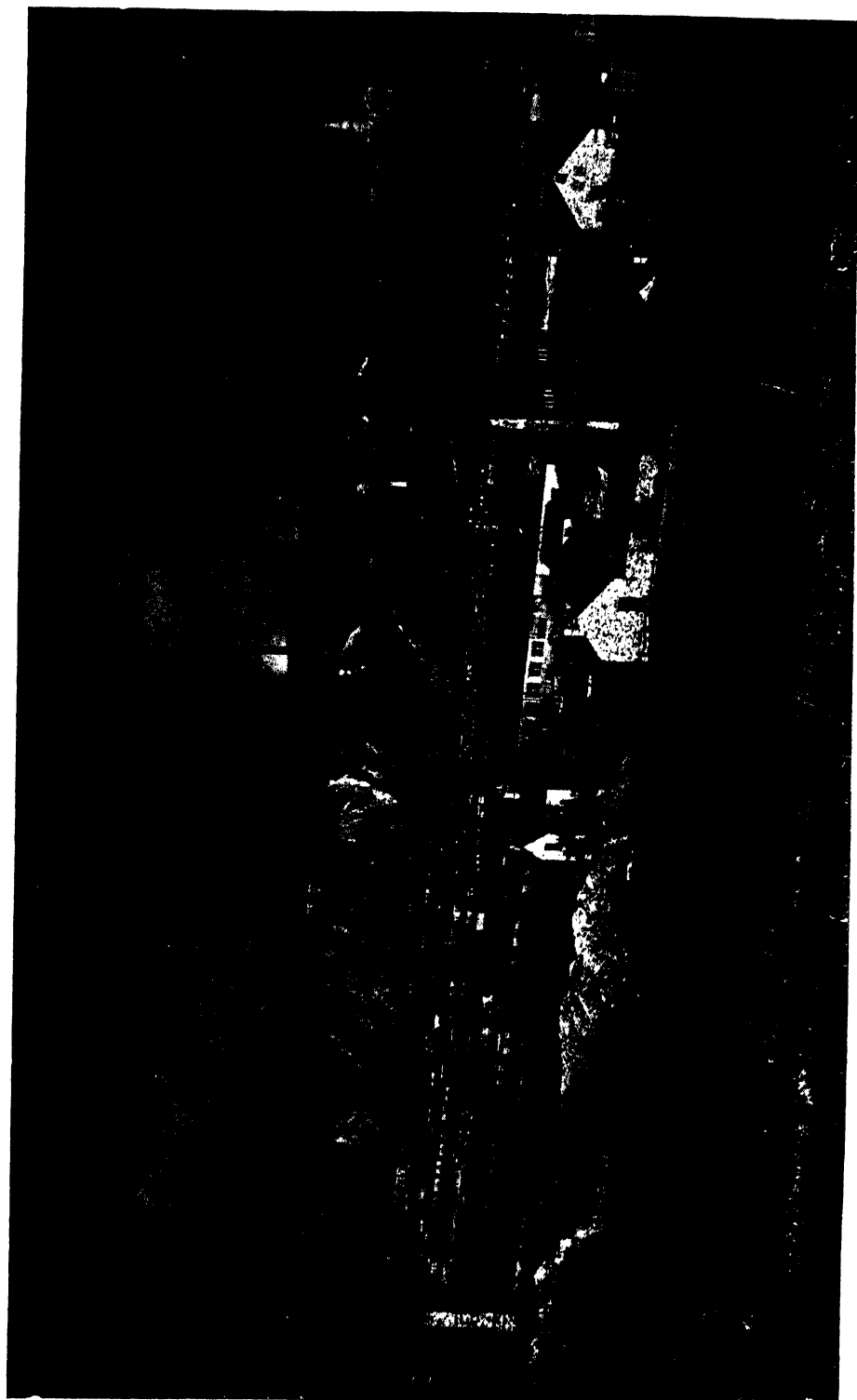
It is hardly necessary to say anything in detail of the work of Christianity in developing personality and drawing out to the fullest the powers of each individual. Conversion is, in its very essence, an emergence of the true self. No form of experience is richer in fruit than religious experience. The late Oscar Browning, no mean authority on education, is said to have declared that "next to wide reading, and travel, and the knowledge of men and books, nothing produces such true culture as a religion really believed and practised." One of the duties which religious and social workers should keep constantly before them is this development of personality, this fostering of originality, and the corresponding breaking up of the herd, the gang, the class.

The fruits of the "herd" mind, however, must not be regarded as evil in a merely negative sense; as lacking, that is to say, originality, force and character. They are positively bad. Where there is no healthy development of personality to act as a protective each individual soul is like a sickly body, readily open to infection. The lowest level of thought and action tends to become the norm for all. Where father, mother, grown-up lads and girls, and little

children all live and sleep in one room the younger children are almost more to be pitied for what they know than for what they are ignorant of, and what one knows all know, and knowledge is imparted in such a way as to be more deadly than ignorance.

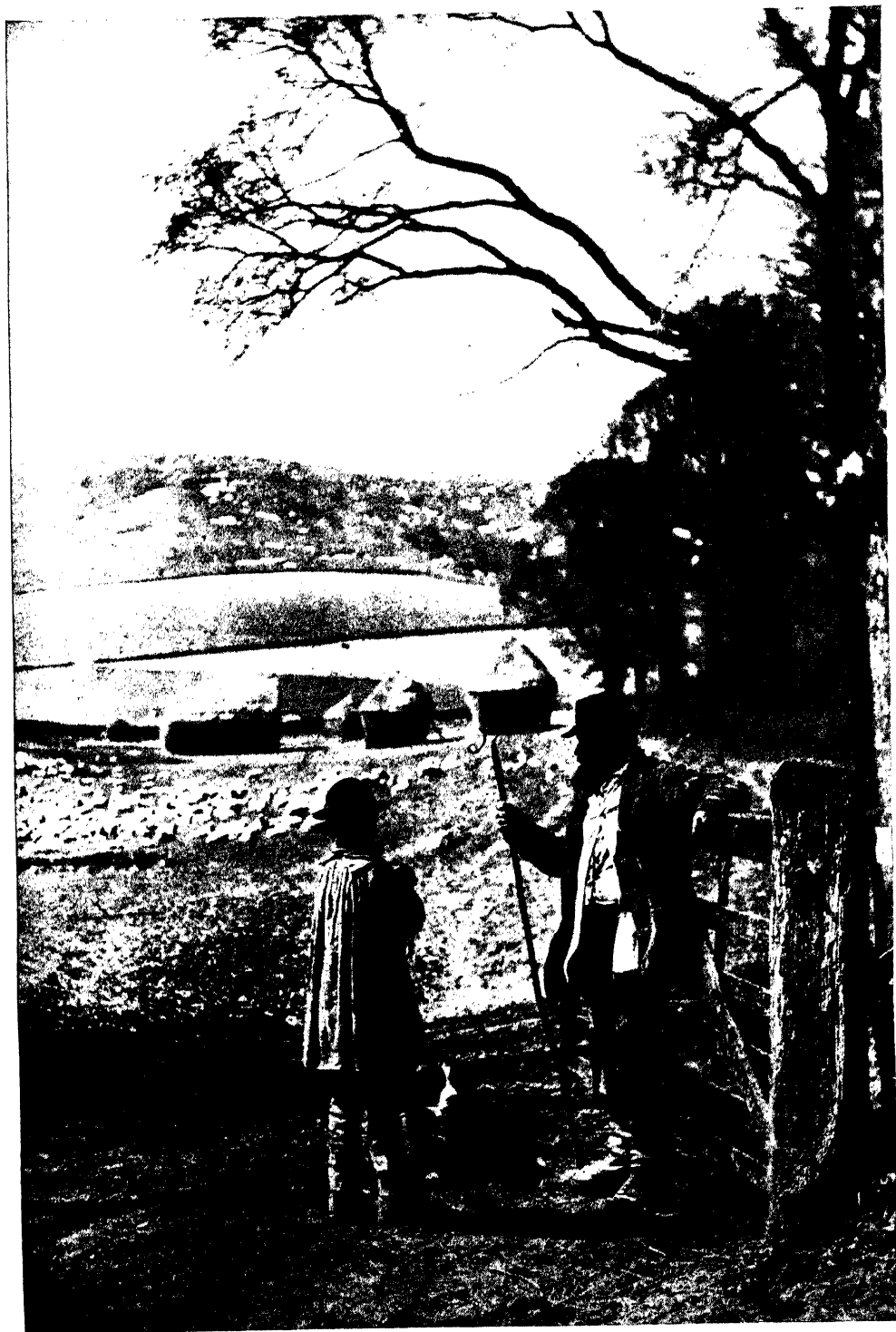
Reference has already been made to indecent post-cards and pictures. It is only necessary to examine the cards exposed to sale in almost any small stationer's shop in any mean street to realize the state of mind common among the rising generation. Nor is this debasement only in matters of sexual vice. Where gambling forms the staple subject of conversation—and many decent working men and women complain that the majority of their work-mates are incapable of taking interest in any other subject—boys and girls grow up with no higher ideal than to get rich without work, and to gain money from others without giving anything, or rendering any useful service, in return. The inability of the majority of men and women to see anything wrong in this meanest and most anti-social of vices is fearful proof of the extent to which the standard of values accepted by the bulk of the nation needs altering. Alike in what they know and in what they are ignorant of, in what they admire and what they reject, the adolescents of to-day need to be brought more into harmony with the mind of Christ.

What then are our conclusions? We end where we started. Life in a great city is essentially unnatural, and only by working for the establishment of the City of God can the evils of modern city life be met and conquered. And, as we said at the beginning, the city is not the houses and shops, but the men and women. The key-note of Christian work must be respect for the individual. While never ignoring or under-rating the effect of material things, of poverty, environment, ugliness, squalor, bad air, defective education, debasing agencies, the religious and social worker must always keep before his mind, as a positive ideal, the fullest possible development of a personality.



THE BLACK COUNTRY: STAFFORDSHIRE.

Copyright: Edgar and Winifred Ward.



EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE COUNTRY.

CHAPTER VI

COUNTRY LIFE

BY (MRS.) M. STURGE-GRETTON, J.P. ; B.LITT.

The problems of the country districts are less spectacular than those of the city; they are none the less acute. In some respects they are even more difficult of solution, for in the city a man's social needs can find an easy satisfaction that is denied to him in the country. So the formation of a Christian community in a rural locality is an achievement of the greatest worth.

THE longer and the more intimately persons and their ancestors have known one or more of the rural districts of England the less likely have they been to talk about "English country life" in general. Till 1914 no entity to be described as Rural England existed. What existed were the rural portions of the differing counties that made up England. In 1800 those counties had been to each other as foreign countries are at present; at that time advertisers for a house in another rural part, even of their own county, would often demand that all replies to their advertisement should state "with rent, size, and situation of premises, the average price of fuel and provisions." Until 1871 every six or seven miles of our main roadways was barred with a toll-gate. Of course, it goes without saying that the greatly improved means of transport and communication that came throughout England between 1860 and 1900 had, by 1900, given to all the rural sections a large number of features in common. But that these sections were not alike in entirety—are not so even to-day—cannot be too much emphasized. Until the War of 1914-1918 intelligent observers found that the most striking fact about the rural districts of England was the amount of local colour and differences in custom that they held.

This "localness" gives clue to the point in the history of England where a present-day survey of English country life has to begin. That must begin, surely, at the date where rural life was stranded

—washed up out of the general stream of English development. Inquirers are apt to commence such surveys with the Common Land Enclosure Acts of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. But those enclosures were part of a general movement. With the increased incentives to corn-growing in the British Isles, given by the rapid increase in population between 1760 and 1811 and the protracted foreign wars, the Common Field System had been more and more perceived to be wasteful of land and obstructing improvements in agricultural methods. The old system was thoroughly uneconomic and obliged to disappear. Enclosure did not create modern rural poverty. Between 1760 and 1805 all necessities of an agricultural labourer's life had trebled in price while his wages had doubled only. As a matter of fact the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Enclosure Acts did not take very much land from labourers; the landlessness of the villager had already, in the early eighteenth century, gone very far.

What the administration of these Enclosure Acts did do was to let slip the most magnificent opportunity for rescuing the rural worker from the pitiable condition into which the industrial revolution was compelling him, *as at that time it was compelling the town worker*. For, of course, the industrial revolution shook village life fundamentally. But this shaking was being experienced by the whole nation—rural life was in the stream of national events and was being swept, as urban life was being swept, by it. But about the date of the close of the Napoleonic wars the story of the countryside of England separates from the trend of main events, for it ceases to have part in general development. From 1815 for about seventy years it lay in a backwater that was motionless, because unpropelled by the tides of public opinion.

The main stream of development of the mid-nineteenth century in England was growth in nationalism. Through chartism, anti-Corn-Law, and franchise agitations, communication—conscious communication—between workmen in different urban districts of England was being set up. We are apt to speak as though “class consciousness” were created in the nineteenth century. Actually all that then happened was that that consciousness extended itself to a humbler class. For, through hundreds of years, throughout Western Europe, courtiers, merchants, scholars, had been acting

consciously in corporations. Growth in nationalism—nationalism is a word and an idea of the mid-nineteenth century—is, in fact, growth in democracy. The mid-nineteenth century brought in England a great increase in democratic sentiment and power. But the new vision, the new combining, was for townsmen only. No place in political programmes was given the countryman. Disraeli, astutest of political opportunists, in his bargaining with Bright in 1867 regarding the monster demonstrations for Parliamentary reform, said that the counties need not be considered; concern was with the industrial working-man only.

History of the English villager from 1832 to 1888 is still waiting to be written. The reason it has not been written yet is that for these years there has appeared to be a hiatus in documentary material. The real material is in the doings for that time of County Justices of the Peace. And not the least relevant fact to the story, when it comes to be told, will be the nineteenth century Justice's lack of sense of responsibility to any authority other than his own, which is shown by his Bench's want of arrangement for custody of its records. In the year 1888, fifty years, that is, after the Municipal Reform Act had given self-government to the towns, County Councils were instituted to take over rural administration, excepting judiciary and licensing duties, from the Justices of the Peace. District Councils were set up at the same time, and Parish Councils followed in 1894. That is, by the close of the nineteenth century, the framework of modern democratic life, as it had been possessed for half a century by the towns, was given to the country districts. But owing to the transportation overseas, migration to railway works and factories, and wholesale emigration to the Colonies, which had been going on through these fifty years, the country labourer to fill that framework had disappeared. The forms of representative government exist in rural England to-day; the reality of representative government does not exist. What, therefore, we have to grasp first, as root and background to our survey of country life to-day, is that the lessons in citizenship learned, at least partially, since his "hungry forties" by the town worker—co-operation and civic activity through electoral representation—have not been learned by the countryman. The countryman's thought—his community thought, I mean, for as an individual he is of course often the average townsman's superior

—is in every respect pretty much where the town worker's thought was in 1848.

From the time of the 1834 to 1836 outcry respecting transportation of the Dorchester labourers till urban indignation was roused at sentences passed by Chipping Norton magistrates in May of 1873, rural life had been unvisited by any beam from the lantern of publicity. During that time in unpenetrated shadow, the rural regions were being consistently drained of labourers who evinced "modern" tendencies. The power of the landed gentry in State affairs had of course been very much weakened by the 1832 Reform Bill, which had brought into Parliament a considerable body of persons of trading interests. But the immediate effect of this was to make the Die-hard of the time retire on his stronghold in the country and hasten to pull up all bridges connecting with the towns. When the history of the County Magistracy is written, the portion of it running from 1832 to 1875 will show as the most unlovely. In the pages of fiction, the disposition of social forces for battle at that time has been excellently recorded for us in George Meredith's "Beauchamp's Career." The Everard Romfreys of that period had lost their bearings entirely. The nation, to their minds, was bent on suicide; all that was left for them to do was to insulate their villages till the last possible moment. Their nerves foresaw the inevitable extension of the, then new, householder franchise to the country districts (it is well to realize that they did, actually, hold this off until 1884); but they honestly believed that the vote would be thrust on the agricultural labourer purely in the interests of the Liberal—to their minds the demagogue—party. They met, therefore, every expression of wish for a vote on the part of the rustic, or of his incipient Unions, as proof of the dangerous agitator's influence. With personal retainers the old squire's relation was often, perhaps most commonly, pleasant. Where his sympathy failed completely was in his official capacity—as a magistrate—called on to face a new day and labourers as a "class."

From 1830 to 1875 agricultural workers who showed any marked independence of spirit were sifted out of the rural communities, first by transportations to Australia and Van Diemen's Land without any kind of provision for return at the expiration of their sentences, then by increased stringency of convictions under the Game

Laws which increased migration to railway works and factories, and, later, by the wholesale activities of emigration agencies. Joseph Arch, in his evidence to the Royal Commission on Agriculture of 1881, estimated that in the years between 1871 and 1880, 700,000 agriculturists, by help of the Agricultural Union alone, had left England for the Colonies; and it is unusual to find to-day man or woman among the most intelligent old people of our villages who does not tell of a brother or sister who set out overseas between 1840 and 1880. Those who did stay behind into the twentieth century stayed, as I have pointed out, as the men of separated regions—Somersetshire, Warwickshire, Lincolnshire, Oxfordshire men that every one had been in their father's day—rather than the men of England that the town workers, by way of Trade and Benefit Associations, had become.

How then, it may be asked, are the young countryman's ideas to-day ideas of the townsman of 1848—for the townsman's ideas in 1848 were fiery? The answer is that in 1914 these survivals of an old-time, localized, society were, without preparation, caught up and flung pell-mell to the ends of the earth in wild juxtaposition of nationalities and a seething hotch-potch of notions. Between 1914 and 1918 change came to the villager altogether too suddenly. Since the middle of last century the townsman had been at least aware that contradictory ideas as to politics and the just constitution of society might be heard on every street corner. The villager, on the other hand, passed directly during the War of 1914–1918 from almost complete acceptance of everything the parson or his employer told him to, equally irrational, disbelief. Largely this disbelief is the result of over-reaching War propaganda. The British workman, of country or town, is not quite such a fool as certain newspaper proprietors thought him; the men who openly destroyed their morning papers at Étaples were then learning disbelief in more than "Hun outrages on British Hospitals," they were learning incredulity of all officially-inspired teaching. Before 1914 they had been over-inclined to trust any statement in print; to-day they attribute to any, except certain strictly Labour, newspapers lies only.

We ought to bear in mind also that, besides the spirits definitely in revolt, there have come home to the villages numberless fathers and brothers made nervously "difficult" by the war; and, because their injuries do not lend themselves to statement on paper, such

persons are apt to be underpensioned considerably. On sisters, too, of the army recruits, particularly three- or four-year younger sisters, the war conditions worked evil. Employment of these in aerodromes and munition works, giving them very high wages and independence of their homes before they had learned self-control (at the age when our children are entering their boarding-schools) has resulted in marked increase in grossness of behaviour. Far from being martyred for her motherhood, the unmarried girl of our villages who is to-day uncertain of the paternity of her child is neither ostracized nor overwhelmed by circumstances. Commonly the babies are dumped with the grandparents, while the mother continues to roam, silk-stockinged, abroad. Vice, such as there is in the village, is no longer surreptitious; it flaunts.

Faced with this flaunting in place of subservience, the surviving county Die-hards, and in imitation of them most of the farmers, behave, as nearly as present circumstances permit, as their kind behaved at Peterloo. A group of country magistrates will even discuss, before deciding between imposition of a fine or of imprisonment, whether the youth in the dock was one of those who had tried to insist on the Saturday afternoon half-holiday, when it was his statutory right. (The degree in which every reactionary force of the English country-side was re-inflated by the Coalition Government's destruction of the Agricultural Wages Board and the County Wages Board Committees in the autumn of 1921, townsmen have not at all fully realized. The Board and the Committees are in existence again now, but in a less forceful form and with their prestige in the eyes of those most in need of them irretrievably damaged.) Disastrously in the interests of justice, no rule or convention as to a "retiring age" for county magistrates exists. On the contrary, as the chairmanship of County Benches and of Quarter Sessions almost invariably goes by seniority, the presiding Chairman is apt to be seventy, or more, years old. One Quarter Sessions I know very well is presided over by a Chairman aged eighty-four. To realize this state of affairs as a pressing evil we have only to ask ourselves how we would like the peccadilloes of our sons and nephews, at their schools, to be adjudicated on by men of eighty years of age. Again, Chairmen of Visiting-Justice Committees at the county prisons, also made such on grounds of seniority alone, have the chief voice in



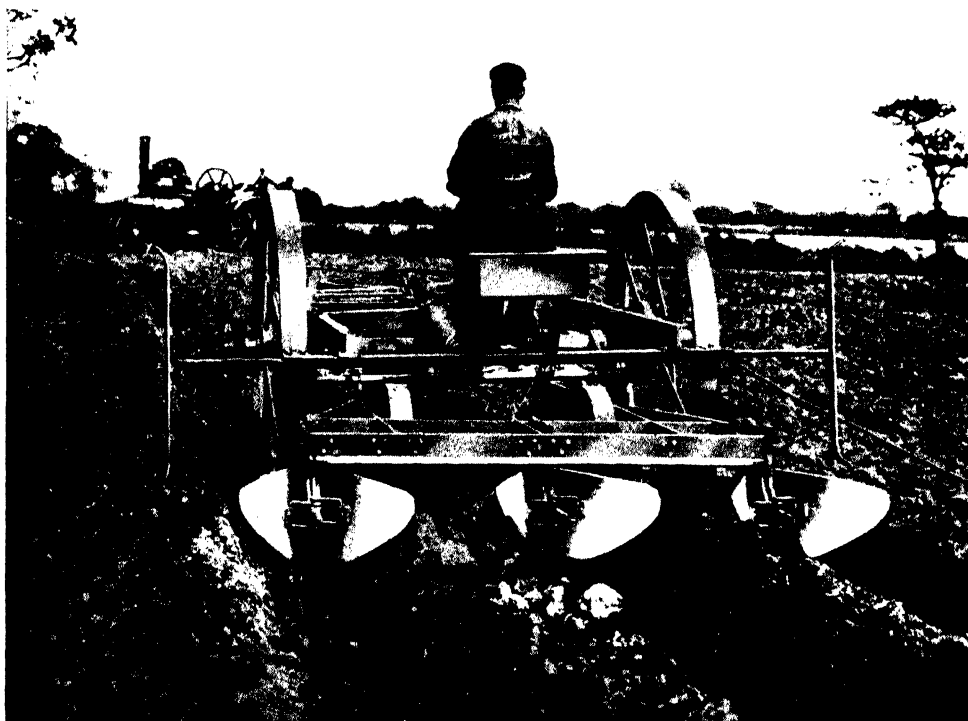
THE VILLAGE CHURCH.



LIFE OF THE FIELDS.



PLOUGHING BY HAND.



PLOUGHING BY MACHINERY.

(Copyright: John Fowler & Co., Leeds.)

imposing penalties on prisoners reported by the jailers to be troublesome. This is a real evil, for the reason that, however much normally at variance with views of a progressive and modern Home Office and its officials old-fashioned J.P.'s may be, they never would be at variance with any governor or jailer's desire to inflict summary punishments for disrespect to officialdom.

But, happily, our concern in this chapter is only with those who at least aspire to live by the Golden Rule. Many of those, however, in small country places to-day are finding the present very difficult. With one of these I sat lately in an ancient, walled garden under the Cotswolds when the church bells rang for Sunday evening service and the villagers remained in the streets; and to the—verbally true—indictment of the ways of the present-day villager I had to hear then, from a personally admirable human being, I could but reply, with eyes on the sheep-folds above us:

“ Yet the Great Shepherd's test
Is this, 'I gave your fathers time,
And all
The loveliness that fruits from time, to store.
Have ye now store to feed my mindless sheep ? ”

It is useless to pretend that the task of Christianizing the country districts now—in the sense of procuring general allegiance to a Christian Church—will be anything except very difficult. Vital religion in urban life to-day has moved its emphasis from the negative of personal abstention from evil to the positive of concerted social effort. And I have been showing that the rural districts of England can offer this new, communal, Christianity no prepared seed-ground. Moreover, the village critics of rural Church life realize to-day that much which is merely ignorant and obstructionist has been wearing the cloak of religion. In the Parliamentary General Election of 1924 some Anglican Church District Visitors pursued lamentable methods; in their “ anti-Bolshevik ” campaign they carried to all their visitees, just before the election, cards to sign promising votes to the District Visitor's chosen candidate—thereby obliging the cottagers not of the District Visitor's political opinion either to lie or to sever their channel, their official channel, to the vicarage sympathy and funds (I write this as a loyal member of the Anglican Church; and I do not belong to the Labour Party). Possibly, to the townsman's ears this method may not sound very

different from election canvassing methods in towns; but actually in village life it is quite a different matter, because there one political party only is in the position to exert "economic pressures." The persons carrying round those cards would penalize, would assume it as duty to penalize, employees showing any activity for an opposition candidate.

In the few really great houses of each county knowledge of the world, of course, has produced an intellectual cosmopolitanism. But in the smaller county houses and in the comfortable classes of the country towns there is a century-old provincialism of outlook making it quite easy, apparently, to go on asserting that only a single side to a question exists. One is reminded very often of an eighteenth-century summary of the virtues of the notorious Judge Jeffreys, "when his Lordship was in, that is, not out of, temper, and when his personal interests were not involved, he most monstrously became the Judge's Bench!" The conventional view taken until now by the Established Church, as a church, towards electoral contests—that they are sordid affairs best kept out of—has, as I have said, revealed itself now to the intelligent countryman as a disingenuous method of plumping for leaving things as they are.

It is imperative that the churches in rural districts shall begin to teach the countryman explicitly that to hear the speeches and read the arguments of the local candidate of each political party, in order to judge for himself how to cast his vote, is a duty of religion. Before every election—Parish or Parliamentary—a body of Christians in every small town and village should make it their business to ensure that no man or woman shall be interrogated by social superiors as to the candidate he or she will be voting for, and that no Christian vote shall be unused. In my own region, one Parliamentary candidate at the last Parliamentary election—a man of old family and a prominent churchman—went about telling the cottagers as he knocked at their doors that he came not to ask them to vote for him, but to urge them to vote for some one, and that, in order to vote intelligently, they must come to hear him, and all the other candidates, speak. Astonishment of the cottagers at this method of address, and their constant talk about it since, proves, if proof were needed, the uniqueness of such a procedure. Yet not only is that candidate's attitude the only civilized attitude,

but it is sagacious politically; for it is only by its becoming customary for the labouring villager to be seen at all parties' meetings that he will be freed from fears of intimidation regarding his vote. What is most needful in villages and small country towns now is the custom of fearless debate. For this, debating places must be provided. These, as things are, Village Halls, just because they belong to the single village or small town, cannot provide. Often since my own sojourn in an East London Settlement twenty-five years ago I have asked myself by what process of reasoning such Settlements were thought more needful for the towns than for the country of England? In every fifteen miles or so of rural England is wanted some really spacious and attractive building to stand to that piece of country-side as Toynbee Hall has stood for fifty years past to Whitechapel, the first distinction between such a Settlement and a Village, or country-town, Hall being in the fact that the Settlement would draw its clientele not from one place but from a number of places. Village Halls and Women's Institutes, excellent and indispensable as they are for the middle-aged and those tied to their houses, arrived too late for the young. For them the unit of the village or the very small town will never suffice again recreationally. Youth now bicycles, for half-holidays even, to the industrial, usually the County, town. But, without much difficulty, it could be deflected to centres nearer home, provided those were genuine centres—that is gathering young men and women from a radius sufficiently large to free them of neighbourly vendettas, minute social demarcations of the single village, and espionage of employers.

Living in such a centre should be a group of maturely-educated persons—maturely-educated because their ultimate task would be not less than to reincorporate a province in English administration, a province that this chapter endeavours to show was obliterated from the politician's map in the nineteenth century. Neither half-educated persons nor obvious-minded missionaries will serve for this undertaking. Country people are tired of facile lifting and imposing of town methods on the rural districts. The gap now between the town mind and the country mind is a really wide gap. As I have said, fundamentally, rural corporate life is what general English corporate life, or want of corporate life, was about 1820. The vitality and the character of it lies in individuals only. A short

time ago I was told by a high-minded and highly-educated man, able political theorist and lecturer to the London School of Economics, that the situation in regard to the English country districts had reached a deadlock, because, now that town theorists were learning not to impose their notions but to ask rural England what it was in need of, they could obtain no sort of unanimity in the replies. Where, let that gentleman ask himself, does he get unanimity as to social remedies in the towns? Does he not get it always, when he does get it, from the dispassionate persons—those without vested material interests in the matters under discussion—in short, from public opinion? And it is just that voice of religious opinion as an entity, issuing and developing through the last seventy years out of the human aggregations of industrialism, that the country districts have not yet had. Indigenous to their soil, they have gallant, resourceful, extremely entertaining, but they have not dispassionate, persons. So few of us, relatively to the past, remain in the country-side at all, and those whose ancestors have been there for generations are apt to find ourselves destined to a side in the conflict.

To wait now for the slow, evolutionary growth of an adequate countryside public opinion is impracticable. Denudation of the countryside is taking place quite too swiftly for that. For long now the rural population of England has been decreasing faster, both absolutely and relatively, than that of any other European land. During the last thirty years some persons from towns have come into the country to live; but those persons are not labourers. Country life possesses, of course, certain real advantages over town life, but those advantages are not of a kind to appeal at present to country working-men. Necessarily the outstanding fact to the labourer and the labourer's wife is that the agricultural labourer's wage is fifty per cent. lower than the average wage of town industries. And as to what he can buy with that insufficient wage, the rural worker is much more restricted than the townsman is. His difficulty in obtaining fresh milk is notorious, a number of farmers wholly object to their cottagers keeping fowls, and the shop of the small village is usually a monopoly shop. As to house rent being less, numbers of houses that villagers are paying rent for to-day would be condemned out of hand were there any other cottages to be moved into. A farmer near to one of our small towns is now erecting wooden

army huts, each of which he divides into two dwellings, letting each dwelling at ten shillings per week. That, taking into account the flimsy nature of the structures and their remote situation, is a town rate of rental; yet every division of the hut colony is filled, and the speculating farmer is rejoicing in a waiting-list lengthy enough to enable him to select only the most solvent tenants. In remote country places often the housing of the poorest persons is as bad as in any town slum. Certainly it is worst under petty landlords, in places where the country-town tradesman or the small retired farmer has invested in cottage property. Naturally enough, this fact will be pressed on the attention of all inquirers by the older type of landlord. But the state of those tradesman-owned cottages merely brings us back again to the crying need of a public opinion to operate through Parish and district Councils.

In a good many places in the country the present Parish Council is merely a caucus of local trade interests. One of the first things the Settlements will have to look after is the procuring of a fresh kind of Parish Councillor. Intellectuals—author or painter, come to country places to pursue their own avocations—will not be bothered to contest local elections with the butcher and the farmer; and the cottager, in view of his shop-account and his job, dare not. Undoubtedly the grinding of the poor in agricultural districts by those only just above them in station is the ugliest kind of grinding. Under an old-time squire, cottagers are, materially at any rate, better off. Nevertheless it is the old-time, or rather the conservative, employer (for scarcely any persons living in the normal-sized country house to-day are of families possessing that house a century ago) that the voice of the Settlement, finally, has to gainsay. For the claim of such employer is apt to be that no alteration in the present agricultural labourer's condition is needed, because the labourer to-day is better off than his forefathers were. Absolutely, he is better off. But, relatively to the last fifty years' improvement of the conditions of every other class in our nation, the agricultural labourer is not only not bettered but very much worsened in circumstance. What the Settlement should demonstrate to a very large class of country employers is the existence now of that public opinion, cognizant of historical facts but refusing to be bound by them—heeding nothing, for instance, of the arguers for child labour to-day because infants were working in factories in 1820—for the

reason that its measuring-scale no longer is man's misdoing, but is *the Pattern in the Mount*.

But so incisive a demonstration can be effected only by persons of trained intellect, persons moreover who, with watching briefs, have been settled in the country for some time; for the people in the country who are the most "forthcoming" are not the most genuine, and, therefore, visiting-inquirers make silly mistakes. Rural people, also, are whimsical, and they instinctively react into taciturnity from obviousness of sentiment or phraseology. Their humour is the humour of understatement—the canary colour saloon touring-car of the tea merchant owner of the great house is "the tea-caddy"; the extremely opulent brewer owner of a large slice of their county is "poor" so-and-so. Therefore the crux lies in the quality of person that the urban church would be willing to spare to the country for first Warden-General of such a Settlement undertaking. A man to fill the need genuinely will have to be a man of the intellectual calibre, capacity, and experience of, let us say, the most outstanding urban bishops. A churchman of that kind, fixed down himself in the country, well might discover that, in some districts at any rate, the time has arrived to substitute regional clergy houses for the present plethora of vicarages; he would encourage in every way possible greater co-operation between the different denominations, probably some system of interchange of services in the smallest villages.

Inevitably, too, he would find himself asking what amelioration of rural domestic existence could be put in hand, immediately and everywhere, as makeweight to country people for their missing of all the comfort and convenience which Municipal enterprise in the last sixty years has given to the town artisan. First of his insistences probably, in response to that query, would be for electricity—power, lighting, and heating—to be brought, underground, to every village and small town, now, by the nation. Electric supply is mentioned here because it appears the most efficacious and far-reaching of the material benefits to rural regions immediately practicable. But it is mentioned illustratively merely. For it is no part of the province of this chapter to specify material remedies. All that belongs to the space at my disposal is to indicate the main line of spiritual necessity, and to refer what I believe to be particularly Christian possibilities of meeting it to Christians in particular.

CHAPTER VII

CITY PLANNING

BY CAPTAIN R. L. REISS

The mere fact of planning a town well, of providing healthy homes with gardens, of separating residential and factory areas, and of providing sufficient open spaces, will not in itself enable people to "live beautifully." It will, however, give the physical conditions which will make such life more capable of realization.

IT was not until the present century that any serious consideration was paid to the subject of town planning by people interested in social and economic reform. To-day, however, the subject is receiving increasing consideration. The housing question has attracted more attention, but those who have been working for housing reform are realizing more and more that the whole subject must be considered in relation to the broader problem of the planning of towns.

As Professor Lethaby has pointed out, "The great purpose of life in towns is to produce finer and finer types of civilization and civility. The very objective of civilization is to build beautiful cities and to live in them beautifully. . . . We have to begin with the formation of town psychology and civic desire."

How far short our towns are in practice from the ideal which Professor Lethaby has put forward can be observed by anyone who makes even a cursory inspection of our present-day towns. They have, for the most part, grown up gradually over many centuries. The big expansion of these towns, however, has taken place mainly during the last hundred years, since the introduction of machinery and large scale manufacturing. In Great Britain some are old mediæval towns which have expanded to a larger or lesser degree according to whether they have become industrial centres. But, whether the towns are comparatively modern or are the expansions of a mediæval city, they are for the most part without plan or form. Factories, workshops and houses are scattered about.

without any definite scheme. Many of the roads are congested owing to the buildings not being sufficiently set back. The houses themselves are, for the most part, crowded together with only comparatively small back yards, and in many cases are so packed away in small courts as not to receive sufficient access of air and sunshine for healthy living. In many of the larger towns, such slum courts and areas often have as many as seventy or eighty houses to the acre. In practically no town are there sufficient parks and playgrounds.

This haphazard development has been due to a lack of any foresight on the part of the responsible Local Authorities, and to the fact that each individual owner of land has been allowed to develop it according to his immediate needs, without reference to the planning of the town as a whole. Behind the lack of foresight on the part of Local Authorities lies the lack of interest on the part of the average citizen. Up to now there has been little "town psychology or civic desire." In future, the whole question of town planning must be the vital concern, not of a few experts, but of the general body of citizens. Future development must be designed so as to prevent the repetition of past mistakes, and gradually to rectify the effects of mistakes already made. Just as the public has already to some extent realized, at any rate in theory, the importance of providing for every family a well-planned, healthy and convenient home, so in the future the public must demand that every town community shall be provided with a well-planned, healthy and convenient city, where the fullest opportunities are provided for the development of the life, not merely of the individual but of the community as a whole.

It is not suggested that the mere fact of planning a town well, of providing healthy homes with gardens, of separating residential and factory areas, and of providing sufficient open spaces, will in itself enable people to "live beautifully." It will, however, give the physical conditions which will make such life more capable of realization.

It is not possible to estimate the extent to which life has been hampered in the past by the chaotic development of towns. Some of the evil results of the lack of planning, however, may be summarized briefly thus:

In the first place, the housing conditions of the working class

section of the population—who after all constitute the vast majority of residents—have been thoroughly unsatisfactory. Not merely have the houses been badly planned in themselves, but they have been crowded together in long, monotonous rows, or in narrow, congested courts. Nor have there been sufficient of such houses built. There has thus been excessive overcrowding of people to the house and of houses to the acre. This, in turn, has seriously affected the health of the people and has reduced the resistance powers to the onslaughts of tuberculosis and other diseases. To bad housing conditions, moreover, may be attributed much of the intemperance, immorality and crime which exist.

Secondly, the fact that factories and workshops are mixed up with dwellings has on the one hand led to inefficiency and waste in connection with manufacturing enterprises and on the other has interfered with the amenities and healthiness of the residences. These evils are accentuated by the absence of sufficient parks and playing fields and by the lack of beauty—not to say squalor—which pervades the greater part of most towns.

From the economic point of view again, the narrowness of the streets has led, with the constant increase of traffic, to considerable expenditure of money on the part of the ratepayers when street widenings have had to be effected. The clearance of slum areas, which has been carried out to some small degree but which in future will have to be carried out on a far larger scale, also involves considerable expense and economic waste.

In the large towns, particularly, the above evils are accentuated by the marked tendency for considerable areas to be inhabited exclusively by members of the working class, while other areas, with greater amenities, are inhabited practically exclusively by what is called the middle and upper class. This divorce between the “East and West ends” is fraught with dangerous possibilities in the future, and has in the past led to an absence of community spirit and much class bitterness.

In Great Britain, since the beginning of the twentieth century, various private town-planning schemes have been carried out. In some cases groups of individuals have purchased a considerable area of land on the outskirts of an existing town and laid it out in such a way as to secure that it will be utilized to the best advantage of the community living and working on it. In other cases—notably

at Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City—they have purchased land on a larger scale in the open country with a view to planning a new town carefully from the start. But such schemes are bound to be limited in number and depend for their success upon the ownership of a considerable area of land and substantial financial resources by those undertaking the enterprise.

Of far more general application, however, is the progress made since the passing of the Town Planning Acts which enabled the responsible Local Authorities to prepare town planning schemes not merely in respect of land which they themselves own but of land owned by private individuals.

The first Town Planning Act was passed in 1909, but now the various provisions of the Acts are consolidated in the 'Town Planning Act, 1925. This Act empowers the Borough Councils and other Local Authorities to prepare town planning schemes "as respects any land which is in course of development or appears likely to be used for building purposes with the general object of securing sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying out and use of the land and of any neighbouring lands."

Up to the present, the Local Authorities have no general power to prepare town planning schemes in respect of land already built upon, but in certain limited respects they can include such land in schemes, namely: (a) Where land already built upon is so situated with respect to land not yet developed that the general object of the scheme would be better secured by its inclusion; (b) Where, on account of special architectural or historical interest attaching to a locality it is desirable for the purpose of protecting the existing character and features of the locality, a town planning scheme should be prepared. In addition, the Authorities have the power of acquiring slum areas for the purpose of clearing and replanning and reconstructing them.

We thus see that there are two directions in which the activity of individual citizens can be utilized for the purpose of securing better planning. They can form themselves into groups for the purpose of acquiring areas of land and planning it out to serve the community. Such efforts, however, are bound to be restricted in volume. The main direction in which the public can bring their influence to bear is by seeing that their Local Authorities utilize

to the full the powers given to them under the Town Planning Acts. While the mistakes of the past can only be cured very gradually, the Town Planning Acts do enable Local Authorities to prevent repetitions of mistakes and to secure that the future development of towns shall be on an ordered plan serving the needs of the community.

What are the steps, then, which should be taken in connection with the preparation of such plans, and what should be the object in view? The fundamental object is to secure such physical conditions as will enable the life, both of individuals and of the community as a whole, to be lived in the highest and most satisfactory manner. An analysis of the needs of individuals and of the community as a whole shows that their main requirements must be considered under the following headings:

- (a) every family should have a well-planned home with healthy surroundings;
- (b) the places where people work should also be healthily planned and be separate from the residential area; the factories themselves should be so situated that they can be carried on in the most economic manner and with the best transport facilities;
- (c) shopping areas must be provided in the most convenient spots;
- (d) provision must be made for community life and there should be special civic areas and areas reserved for public buildings of various kinds, such as the town hall, clubs, educational institutions of various kinds, museums, libraries, picture galleries, theatres, cinemas. So far as possible these public buildings should be grouped in a finely conceived civic centre with well laid out gardens surrounding or leading up to them;
- (e) adequate provision must also be made for open air recreation by the provision of parks and playing fields for children's games;
- (f) the planning of the streets should be so carried out as to secure rapid transport, at the same time preventing danger to pedestrians. The buildings should be sufficiently set back from the streets to secure safety and also to prevent access of sunshine and air being cut off from the windows by buildings on the opposite side of the street;

- (g) To these should be added the taking of adequate steps to abate the nuisance caused by smoke, though this is not strictly a town planning matter.

Where a new town is being planned from the start all of these objects can be secured by careful thought and study. Where, however, the town planning scheme is being prepared for the extension of an existing town, those responsible for its preparation will be, to some extent, handicapped by the existing development. They can only hope to do the best possible subject to these limitations.

To secure the above objects, a town plan should provide, *inter alia*, for:

- (a) "Zoning," that is to say, the scheduling of certain areas for factories and certain other areas for residences, and the limitation of the number of houses to the acre in the various residential zones;
- (b) the provision of new roads and transit facilities, and the reservation of sufficient land on either side of the carriage ways to enable further widenings to take place as transit increases. This in its turn involves regulations with regard to the building lines of houses so that they are set sufficiently far back from the roads;
- (c) the reservation of land for open spaces and playgrounds and parks;
- (d) a series of regulations designed to secure that the whole layout of the residential areas will be such as to secure the greatest possible amenity. It is desirable, for instance, that there should be a certain amount of restriction as to the elevations of the buildings so as to secure harmony of architecture, and also provision should be made for the planting of trees along the sides of roads.

When a town planning scheme has been prepared by a Local Authority and approved by the Ministry of Health, its effect is to limit the use to which individual owners can put their land. It is not necessary for the Local Authority actually to purchase any of the land, though they will probably purchase a certain amount for public open spaces, for housing schemes, and for making main roads. The use of the land which remains in private hands will be

restricted. Thus, if the scheme provides for certain areas being "zoned" for industrial purposes and others for residences with a limited number of houses to the acre, then the owner of land in an area reserved for factories will not be able to build any dwelling houses on it. On the other hand, if another man owns land in the residential area where the regulations provide for not more than twelve houses to the acre, he will neither be able to use the land for factories or workshops, nor to build more than twelve houses to the acre.

It is not possible to go into the details and technicalities of the Town Planning Acts and their administration. It may, however, be said in general that they provide for compensation in cases of undue hardship arising from the scheme, and, on the other hand, for the levying of a betterment charge where, owing to the scheme, an individual's land is improved in value. Provision is also made for public inquiries and for advertising the fact that such a scheme is going to be prepared. Thus, all the various considerations which owners of land may wish to bring before those responsible for the scheme have their due consideration and weight.

In connection with the preparation of town planning schemes for the extension of a town, and still more in connection with any replanning that may take place, it is essential that a civic survey should be prepared for the purpose of ascertaining the existing facts and conditions. The survey should indicate the manner in which the existing conditions affect the development of community life. It is then possible to prepare the new town planning scheme in direct relation to ascertained facts and conditions in the town, and by the use of imagination and sympathy, to provide for the gradual removal of those things which hamper life at present and, on the constructive side, to ensure that future development will prevent the repetition of past mistakes.

In a highly industrialized country like Great Britain, certain problems of peculiar difficulty arise in connection with town planning and development. The rapid increase of the urban population and the concentration of industry which took place during the nineteenth century has led to the development of overgrown cities and also to a whole network of contiguous towns being located in certain restricted industrial areas. It is coming to be recognized that many of our towns have grown to such a size as to become

unwieldy and to prevent the proper development of community spirit. A large amount of time is wasted in travelling to and from work, and people living in the congested centres of large towns have to spend a substantial amount of time and money if they wish to get out into the open country. This situation applies particularly in Greater London, but presents itself in an acute form in Birmingham and the Black Country, Manchester and South Lancashire and Glasgow and the other towns contiguous to it on the Clyde.

Even where towns individually are not of excessive size, sporadic industrial development over an area makes it practically impossible for the Local Authorities to provide satisfactory town plans without any relation to the schemes being prepared by their neighbours. The towns in South Lancashire, for example, practically join up to each other.

There is thus developed a growing body of opinion in favour of the preparation of regional plans for such areas, which will lay down the main lines upon which development should take place over a considerable area, leaving the working out of the detailed town plans to the individual Local Authorities. Thus, in the Manchester area a large number of Local Authorities have joined together to form a joint Town Planning Committee and have appointed experts to prepare a regional plan. Regional plans have also been prepared for South Yorkshire, West Middlesex and a number of other districts, and have been published for the most part by the University Press of Liverpool. Such regional plans provide for the main traffic routes and for a general indication of the areas which should be reserved for residential and industrial purposes.

A further development of ideas arising out of the spectacle of the evils caused by the overgrowth of the large cities is embodied in what is termed the Garden City Movement. Since the beginning of the century when Mr. Ebenezer Howard published his book "The Garden Cities of To-morrow" the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association has been advocating the building of self-contained new towns as a means of relieving the congestion both of population and industry in London and other big centres. It has been urged that to go on building on the outskirts of a big town, even if the areas built upon are well planned, affords no really permanent solution to the problem of community life. The advocates of the establishment of Garden Cities therefore urge that areas

of hitherto rural land should be selected and acquired and that plans should be prepared for their development as self-contained industrial towns of limited size. The term Garden City is often loosely applied to any new housing scheme with an open lay-out. But the correct definition as approved by the Garden Cities Association is "a Town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life; but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership, or held in trust for the community." Pioneer efforts have been made to put the theory embodied in this definition into practice, and the establishment of Letchworth Garden City, some 30 miles from London, which already contains a population of about 14,000 and some 40 factories and workshops, and quite recently the establishment of Welwyn Garden City, which has reached a population of some 4,000, show that the Garden City idea is a practicable one. These two towns are being planned for a population limited to about 40,000 people, it being thought that this size is sufficiently large to provide for a variety of population and industry and to be able to maintain the best form of educational and other community organizations, whilst at the same time not being so large as to be unwieldy.

It is recognized, however, that the schemes at Letchworth and Welwyn are merely examples and that, if there is to be any really rapid progress in the application of the idea to the congestion of large towns, it will be necessary for the Public Authorities to take a larger part in their establishment.

How urgent is the necessity for establishing these self-contained satellite towns may be illustrated by the situation in Greater London to-day. Workers spend some £30,000,000 a year in going to and from their work. The congested slum areas in the central districts cannot be dealt with properly except by a thinning out of the population. If the surplus population is merely moved to the outskirts, the traffic congestion is increased when the wage earners have to get to their work. Thus the only solution is to move a portion of the population and some of the industries to self-contained satellite towns separated from Greater London by a belt of open country.

In town life the ideal should be that every family should be able to live in healthy surroundings within walking distance of their

work, and also within walking distance of the open country. This is only practicable where the town is of a limited size.

As stated earlier in the chapter, the housing problem is an essential part of town planning, though it is important to bear in mind that it is only a part and not the whole. The preparation of a town plan will prevent the creation of fresh slums. Meanwhile, however, in Great Britain, in common with almost every other country, we are faced with the urgent and insistent problem of providing sufficient housing accommodation and of clearing away the slum areas which already exist.

The Housing Acts give wide powers and financial assistance to the Local Authorities to enable them to provide directly new housing accommodation, to assist private enterprise in the provision of houses for working classes, and also to clear and reconstruct their slum areas. It is calculated that despite all the efforts which have taken place in the past, there is a housing shortage in Great Britain alone of some million houses, and that at least 20 per cent. of the population are living in overcrowded conditions in houses or areas which should be condemned, and that overcrowding exists in a greater or lesser degree in practically every working class district. It is quite common to find families of from four to eight living, sleeping and cooking in a single room—a condition of affairs which gives serious occasion for thought to the inhabitants of a Christian country in the twentieth century after Our Lord.

While the public conscience has been more and more concerned with this state of affairs and there is increasing activity in the provision of houses, still greater efforts are necessary to make up the shortage of houses and to clear the slum areas. There are sufficient powers under the Housing Acts to enable this to be accomplished, but much depends upon the will of the general public as to whether these powers shall be put into effect. The solution of the problem depends, not merely upon the provision of enough houses but the securing that the houses shall be well-planned for family life, shall have sufficient accommodation for the separation of the sexes, and a sufficiently open lay-out of the land to enable each family to have their own garden, and for the access of air and light to all the rooms. The present powers and duties of Local Authorities with regard to housing are contained in the Housing Acts of 1923, 1924 and 1925. The first essential for any individual



WELWYN GARDEN CITY, HERTFORDSHIRE.



BOURNVILLE GARDEN CITY, WORCESTERSHIRE.

who wishes to assist in connection with housing and town planning reform is to have a general knowledge of the provisions of these Acts, and of the Town Planning Act, 1925.

The task for the future, therefore, is to secure that the development of existing towns and the creation of new towns shall be in accordance with well-considered plans, providing for all the needs of the community. In connection with such development, every effort should be made to secure the solution of the housing problem as quickly as possible, and that the congestion of the existing large towns should be relieved by the creation of new Garden Cities planned from the start. If Christian people use every effort to secure these objects they will have produced such physical conditions as will help every member of the community to lead a Christian life. Present conditions place every possible obstacle in the way, and while in many cases the most saintly lives are lived under the most impossible housing conditions, no one can suggest that to allow whole families to be crowded into single rooms is to give them the same chance as they would have in a convenient and healthy self-contained home.

It was for this reason that the great Conference held at Birmingham in 1924 on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (C.O.P.E.C.) passed the following resolution with unanimity:

“That Christians cannot tolerate the present housing conditions, and that it is the imperative duty of all Christians and all Churches ceaselessly to demand and work, politically and otherwise, for measures which will secure that such a number of new houses be built as will completely meet the housing shortage and abolish the slums.”

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INDIVIDUAL'S RESPONSIBILITY TO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

BY SIR WILLIAM ASHLEY, PH.D., M.COM.

The due and full development of human life can take place only in an ordered society. A Christian civilization works for a government of such a character that under it human beings may attain their highest possibilities.

WHAT has Christianity to say concerning the relations between the Government and the Individual? The answer must depend on what is meant by Christianity, and on what is meant both by Government and by Individual.

The teaching of the Christian Church has never been that there are absolutely no limits to the obedience which the individual can properly be called on to render to the civil power. The deification of the State, whether in the form it took in the Roman Empire, or in the idealist shape given to the thought by Hegel, has always been profoundly alien to the Christian spirit. It has always been conscious of the possibility of conflict between the demands of the political authority of the time, whatever it might be, and what it held to be the commands of God. "We ought to obey God rather than men" is the ultimate Christian attitude. And in mediæval theory, the Church was commonly regarded by thinkers of all schools as possessing an authority not only parallel in spiritual concerns to that of the secular power in material concerns, but necessarily overriding it when the spiritual and the material came into collision.

Short, however, of some command of the civil authority which was deemed to conflict with religious duty, Christianity might be so conceived as to encourage or even inculcate what may be called a "quietist" attitude on the part of the individual towards the political authority; an attitude of unquestioning obedience, whatever might be the source of the authority or the manner in which

it was exercised. And it has in fact been so conceived at various times in its history. In the early Apostolic age, the dominating thought was the near approach of the Kingdom of Heaven, the cataclysmic setting-up on earth, by the direct interposition of God, of an ideal realm of righteousness. The way into that Kingdom for the individual was repentance: but it might well seem to the leaders of the infant Christian community that there was sufficient scope for repentance to show itself in neighbourly kindness, in temperance, in honesty of dealing, sexual purity and forgiveness of enemies. Rebellion against the existing authority in this present state of society, which was so soon to pass away, might well seem not only inexpedient but tragic folly, considering how short was going to be the time of waiting. And therefore Paul felt justified in writing to the brethren in Rome: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for the powers that be are ordained of God." And the writer of what is known as the first letter of Peter laid down the same general rule: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supreme or unto governors." The idea at the back of their minds is the same, and it is clearly expressed. "The day is at hand," says the one: "The end of all things is at hand," says the other.

In the contention with which each writer supports his precept, there is a permanent element of truth. So long as we retain a theistic view of history and think of human government and civil order, and of law as their instrument, as part of the divine education of the human race, we must regard the authority which enforces that law as, in the phrase of Paul, "a minister of God." Nevertheless, both of these utterances and others like them in the New Testament were abundantly invoked in later centuries in favour of authority however based or enforced, and as inculcating mere submission on the part of subjects; and this long after the hope of a speedy overthrow of this world's very imperfect régime had perforce been abandoned.

But the same Quietism might and did follow when the point of view was altogether changed; when Christianity was primarily regarded not as the hope of an ideal society on earth, a New Jerusalem descending from the clouds, but as the promise of an eternity of bliss for the soul, in another world after this life. When life on earth is genuinely regarded only as the short term of preparation

for an existence beyond the skies which shall be everlasting, mere earthly injustice or hardships might well seem too trivial to call for a sensible man's thought. "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world"—food and shelter and clothing, innocent happiness: nay, even liberty or self-government—"and lose his own soul?" If that meant the forfeiture of heaven. Human nature *is so mixed that men and women, thinking themselves to believe all this, have in fact again and again struggled against tyranny or agitated for reform, obeying an unconscious Christian impulse deeper than the conscious Christian doctrine.* Yet there can be no doubt that the other-worldly view of Christian faith has very generally checked the revolutionary spirit, even when revolution would have been salutary for society, and has caused men and women to be patient when impatience would have better served the world.

It is often said that the governing classes, whether feudal or capitalist, have supported Christian teaching because it made the poor submissive: it was cheaper to let labourers pay themselves in the coinage of another world. This is a shallow view. So great is the human capacity for inconsistency that rulers themselves have very generally shared the same belief in the comparative insignificance of earthly power or wealth. On both sides there was the same divorce between religious and civic duty. It has been argued with reason that vast as were the benefits conferred on England by the Methodist movement, the very intensity and limitations of Methodist piety caused the working classes to put up with social conditions to which it would have been much better had they not submitted.

The Christian churches have moved away both from the idea of the speedy termination of this world and from the idea of its essential insignificance. Physicists have not reached an agreement as to the millions of years they can allot to life on this planet. Even if they were in accord, the man or woman who is deeply affected in everyday thinking by the anticipation of a world ultimately freezing into lifelessness is a very rare person indeed. It is the unconscious assumption of all of us that human society is going to continue for long ages to come. And all the Christian churches agree that the primary Christian obligation, the duty of "love"—a sincere and therefore practical regard for the true well-being of others—is to

be carried out for its own sake, and not as a mere qualification for a future life.

The New Testament sets before us the characteristic Christian message, the "new commandment," as the governing principle for all our actions: it does this by precepts and by examples, above all by the Great Example. But from the very nature of things—the age in which it was written, the essential character of "love" itself—it cannot furnish us with a political or social constitution or with a code of laws. True, it is profoundly individualist, in that it expresses, with the utmost intimacy of appeal, the measureless value of every human spirit, and the direct relation between each earthly child and the heavenly Father. But it is also profoundly socialist, in that it lays stress on the mutual dependence and mutual duties of the members of that Christian Church which it exhibits as the ideal for all human society. Both these strains of teaching appear there because man is ineradicably both individual and social: it is this combination which gives the Christian Scriptures their permanent power. How the Christian is to harmonize the claims of the self and of society, he is left to his own reason to determine—but to reason impelled by love. And reason can only be guided by considerations of expediency or utility; interpreting both criteria in the noblest sense. Every question of civic duty must for the Christian be determined by a consideration of what will, in the long run, be for the highest good of the community.

For the time in which we now live, we may assume representative democracy as the basis of political authority in the States of Western Europe and America, of Australasia and South Africa. And by representative democracy is meant the determination of national law and policy by the will—assumed by the constitutional theory and invited by the institutions—of the adult population within each State; as that will is expressed through a representative assembly or assemblies. The necessity that electors should be registered in particular constituencies, will, of course, exclude from the franchise persons of migratory habits. Criminals and the insane are also universally excluded. But the migratory, the criminal and the insane form but a small percentage of the population: the intention is to include substantially the whole body and with the same rights. "One man"—and we should add now—"and one woman, one vote," is the general principle: to which the British plan of university

constituencies is the small but remarkable exception which proves the rule. The statement of the rule must for the present indeed be limited to countries outside Russia; for the Soviet constitution not only excluded from the suffrage all "bourgeois" but also arranged that the peasant vote should count for only one-fifth of its numerical strength. And its application in the United States and in South Africa must be understood as limited in practice, in certain of the States and in varying degrees, to the white population, by means of professedly educational tests or in other ways.

With these qualifications, which seldom occur to the mind of the ordinary European or American, the principle of democracy is as has been above stated. The definition is loose enough to include all the necessary differences between unitary and federal constitutions, or between presidential and parliamentary executives. And it is this general acceptance of democracy—whether as itself a just principle, or simply as a working system in the absence of something better—which determines the form in which questions of civic behaviour now present themselves. Yet it is only a very recent assumption: so far as "adult population" now includes women as well as men, it dates only from the World War. And it may be worth while to glance rapidly at some earlier stages.

Two of these are indicated in our English Book of Common Prayer. The alternative prayers for the King which were inserted in the first English Communion Service in 1549, and are still retained, both imply a real autocracy in the secular sphere. Both rely for the checking of arbitrary tyranny not on parliamentary control but on the divine direction of the heart of the sovereign. The prayer which is put first and would commonly be used asks that "his subjects (duly considering whose authority he hath) may faithfully serve, honour and humbly obey him." The long struggle between Church and State could not be completely forgotten, nor the possibility that conscience might be compelled to protest against royal commands; and therefore a phrase is added which was intended as a saving clause: "in Thee and for Thee, according to Thy blessed word and ordinance." But this was not understood to impose any restriction upon the King's will in matters of State. In the Edwardian and Elizabethan Prayer Books, Parliament was not so much as mentioned, though there are two prayers for the Council, which was nominated by the sovereign and assisted him by advice

which he could disregard if he so chose. It was only in 1662, when parliamentary government was coming to be distinctly recognized, that "a prayer for the High Court of Parliament, to be read during their Session," was permanently added. And it is significant that when in 1789, the year of the drafting of the American Constitution, the Episcopal Church in the United States had to revise its forms of service, though it found no use for the prayers for the chief of the State in the Communion Office, it found the prayer for Parliament altogether appropriate to Congress. "That *all* things may be so ordered and *settled* by their endeavours that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established among us" are words wide enough for a representative assembly with even more extensive powers than the American Congress.

When it was recognized that government must be "by the people," the nations were still a long way off from the present assumption that "the people" means the whole body of adult sane non-criminal persons residing in a country; with the two limitations, which "the man in the street" does not quarrel with, that resident aliens must satisfy certain easy conditions before they can obtain citizenship, and that the arrival of fresh aliens may be subjected to limitation. "The people" was long conceived of as a body within the total number of residents. Of course this was evidently true in the tacit limitation of citizenship to males. But among males the limitation went far. Locke, the philosopher of the Whig Revolution of 1689, expressly laid down that "the great and chief end of men uniting into Commonwealths and putting themselves under Government is the preservation of their Property." It seemed naturally to follow that the parliamentary franchise could justly be restricted to those who owned sufficient property to give them "a stake in the country." An Upper House of Lords was justified on the ground that the lords were in fact the great land-owners, and that as land was the most important form of wealth, they had an inherent right to a large voice in the government of the country. Even the constitution established by the French Revolution distinguished between "active" and "passive" citizens according to a property qualification. Throughout the constitutional changes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe and America what has been going on has been, first, the substitution

of a merely residential qualification for active citizenship in the place of a property qualification and, secondly, the doubling of the electorate by the addition of women.

It does not fall within the scope of this chapter to trace the historical movement in any further detail, or to consider its relation to Christian thought. It is obvious that the movement towards the political equality of the sexes has found one of its main sources in the Christian doctrine of the equality of male and female in the sight of God. Past history has only been touched upon here to make it clear that the relation between "Government and the Individual" cannot well be considered merely abstractly and without some sort of notion as to what "the Government" means at any particular period, and what therefore is the constitutional position of "Individuals" of different classes or grades of wealth as well as of different sexes.

Assuming, then, political and social conditions, as in fact they exist now, in the countries which share "Western civilization," can any general principles be laid down as arising from the Christian duty of "love"—the duty so to act as to promote the highest welfare of the community?

The object in view is that "the will of the people"—since by that, it is agreed, we must be governed—shall be wisely determined and exercised. It follows, therefore, that the first political duty of a modern Christian, as indeed of every good citizen, must be directed towards securing for the body of the people such an education as may fit it for the beneficent exercise of its powers. The individual should cultivate a sense of his duty to have opinions of his own and to give expression to them in the polling booth and otherwise, and he should possess the necessary knowledge and intelligence to reach to independent conclusions with respect to the public weal. Is this to expect a good deal from "the average citizen"? No less is involved in the democratic principle. Otherwise he will be easily-moulded material in the hands of political bosses or "machines"; or be readily swayed by sensational newspapers, with their appeal to "the psychology of the crowd" in their own ambitious or financial interests. Or again—and this is a grave peril in local government—the citizen may be too lazy or too careless to exercise his franchise, and may leave the everyday government of the city to a small minority.

But the education of the citizen cannot simply be a matter of instruction, whether elementary, secondary or adult. Political duty cannot, in real life, be carried out unless the citizen is reasonably free from anxiety as to the means of subsistence and enjoys a reasonable amount of leisure. Hence such a distribution of property within the citizen body as will conduce to active and intelligent citizenship is a prerequisite for the satisfactory working of democracy.

It is surely not pessimistic to say, however, that even a fairly educated and well-intentioned democratic electorate, freed from the graver disqualifications of physical insecurity and grinding toil, cannot, for a long time to come, be counted upon, with any great confidence, to make wise political decisions. Hence the citizen who would carry out his Christian duty will not regard himself as relieved from the obligation to look ahead, and to consider and further the creation of such political machinery as will check undue haste and promote deliberation in the national decision of great issues. This may perhaps be secured by means of a written constitution, enforced by a Supreme Court sufficiently supported by public opinion; as well as by an Executive created by the same electorate as chooses the legislative body, but in such a way as to possess an authority independent of it. But such a written constitution is much easier to create in a federal than in a unitary State. In a unitary State it may be secured by a second chamber, with the power of so delaying legislation as to give "the general public" the opportunity of "second thoughts": though it is certainly not easy to create a second chamber which will rest on popular election, and hence possess the authority of a democratic mandate and be strong enough for the required purpose, without being too strong for the smooth working of the bicameral system. Or again, it may be possible to set barriers in the way of precipitate decisions by some device in the nature of a Referendum from the elected body to the electorate. Wherever the solution is to be found, it is the duty of a good citizen to give his mind seriously to the problem. Its solution is hindered, not only by the indifference and lethargy of the community in general, but also by the fact that freedom from check on the popular chamber is usually in the supposed interest of the political party dominant at the time.

It will, one must fear, be some time before "the people" are in

fact educated and public-spirited and deliberate. We have to take governments as they are, while striving to make them better. The question then is: What should be the attitude of the good citizen towards such laws as governments, such as they are, do in fact promulgate?

The first proposition we may lay down is that there is now a very strong presumption in favour of "obedience to law." It would be blindness to obvious facts to maintain that the presumption is always conclusive. Laws do in fact not infrequently fall into desuetude owing to insensible changes in public opinion and the consequent growing slackness in administration. Whether a law still on the statute book is in fact obsolete can only be left to common sense to determine. And there may be occasions when even a recent enactment comes into such conflict with an individual "conscience" that disobedience may, to that individual, seem justifiable. As to this, two or three things may be said. The Christian should seek to follow the "inner light." But conscience may be ill informed or otherwise misled. The followers of "conscience" have too often disregarded Our Lord's grave warning: "if the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness."

The refusal to conform to law can usually be made sufficiently evident without resorting to forcible opposition. To the Vicar of Bray, we may remember, at one period of his clerical career,

"Passive obedience was a joke,
A jest was non-resistance."

In recent years the casuistry—I use the word in no unfavourable sense but merely for the examination of cases of conscience—the casuistry which seemed buried with the seventeenth century became again a serious matter to not a few. This has to be noticed as a fact of history, without passing any judgment here either on the claim of the State for military service or on the refusal of some citizens to give it. But although "conscience," like all sincere belief, always merits respect, that does not necessarily mean that it should be yielded to by the public authority. No one would maintain that the assertion of conscientious scruple should always cause the State to withdraw its demand for obedience. Some right of discrimination on the part of the legislative authority must evidently be allowed for. And after all, if the recalcitrant individual may feel himself impelled

by conscience to defy the law, the legislative and executive authorities may feel themselves just as strongly impelled by conscience to enact and enforce it.

The presumption in favour of law remains. For the good that can conceivably be done by disobeying a supposedly unwise law is far outweighed in the course of national life by the evils due to disobedience. Disobedience to specific laws is bound to weaken the authority of law in general. And to weaken the hold of law on the allegiance of citizens is to weaken one of the greatest of all instruments for promoting human well-being.

And there is this to be added. Obedience to law is often distasteful for no higher reason than this: that it involves an interruption of personal comfort, or—in the case of taxation—a diminution of personal wealth. But some sacrifice of the immediate interests of the individual is involved in the very nature of political union. A reasonably calm acquiescence in taxation—if cheerful acquiescence is out of the question!—is one form of that conquest of the lower self which it is the purpose of Christianity to achieve.

The moral obligation which rests on the citizen as subject to law should involve an obligation on him as its source, as taking part, through his parliamentary representatives and through the executive for whom he pays, in enacting and enforcing law. There has been some discussion among political philosophers as to Rousseau's conception of "the general will," and as to the sense, if at all, in which a State can be said to have such a will. But, apart from all theory, it is pretty obvious that law is only likely to be effectively carried out if it has "public opinion" behind it; that is, if it is approved of, more or less consciously, by a substantial majority of the citizen body. That a small majority—in the last analysis that a majority of one—has a right to impose its will on the rest, may or may not be abstractly tenable. But it will certainly not dominate in the actual course of a nation's life. The moral is to avoid snatching at legislative victory by small majorities. The prestige of parliamentary government is not high enough to stand such a strain. When there is a very large minority, it will agitate for the repeal of the law and think itself justified in taking advantage of an equally small majority to effect its object; and this has an unsettling effect which is very undesirable. Or, in a less law-abiding country, the minority will not feel itself morally bound to obey the statute, and it will become largely, if

not completely, inoperative. It is in vain that reformers, having secured legislation which public opinion does not really support, cast all the blame of its violation upon weak administration. In a democratic country no administration can, in the long run, be effective unless it has popular backing.

There are those who persuade themselves that simply to get some enactment on the statute book, even though they frankly acknowledge that it is not likely, for some time to come, to be enforced, secures "the public recognition" of some principle, and that unenforced legislation will exercise an educational influence. But experience shows that this result is very slow in being realized; and, in any case, against the possible gains are to be set the real danger of weakening the hold on public respect of law in general.

Modern democracy is the most difficult of all forms of government. With a real monarchy there is at any rate the chance of an enlightened and benevolent autocracy. The history of the last four centuries furnishes instances of paternal monarchy more beneficial—at any rate in certain important respects—than any alternative possible at the time. While England paid for its Whig Revolution in 1689 by the destruction of its peasantry, the Danish Revolution of 1660, which abolished parliament, enabled the monarch to keep the peasantry on the land. Moreover, a strong monarchical government can administer the law in the several localities by means of trained officials, in large measure free from class interest and local partisanship. This was the system of the *ancien régime* in France: an autocracy governing through its official local representatives, the *intendants*. England adopted a compromise. The Tudor and early Stuart system was one of administration through Justices of the Peace who were men of local position—in the counties substantial landowners—but who derived their authority from a Royal Commission and were definitely and continuously and effectively responsible to the Privy Council. The Puritan Revolution broke the power of the Privy Council, and in the eighteenth century the Justices of the Peace ceased to be under any adequate central control.

All modern democratic States have enlarged their "civil services"; some of them—Germany and Great Britain, in their several ways, foremost among them—have done much to secure in their civil services honesty and efficiency. One of the chief of political duties with all good citizens is civil service reform, in those countries where

it may still be necessary. But most States have learnt by experience that a central parliament, supporting a central executive and acting through local officials, is inadequate to meet the needs of modern societies. If only because a single representative body cannot have time to deal with local requirements, some devolution of powers is necessary. The other advantages of local government, in the utilization of local knowledge and the enlistment of local interest, are sufficiently obvious. And thus it is that not only is there a separation between the government of the several States and that of the union in federal constitutions, but in all modern political communities government has to be provided for the several local areas. First recognized in the case of "municipalities," the necessity has come to be seen for "counties" and even "districts." And, in a democratic age, this local government can only take the form of elected representative bodies, with, of course, their own corps of officials.

Hence the heavy claim which democracy now makes on good citizens. It is not enough that they should use an intelligent and unselfish judgment, at long intervals, in the election of their parliamentary representatives; they must use a like judgment in the election of their representatives on local governing bodies; and, what is more important still, they must be ready in sufficient numbers themselves to serve on local governing bodies. Plebiscitary Bonapartism, the various movements in the United States to strengthen the Governor or the Mayor as against the State Legislature or the city council, Bolshevism in Russia and Fascism in Italy, all these rest on the assumption that the electorate will not take a sufficiently intelligent interest in their own political affairs to return competent bodies either of parliamentary representatives or of local councillors. But to adopt such a policy is to despair of democracy and to abandon it as an instrument for national education.

Considerations such as these call for new types of Christian character. The fasting which is needed to-day is not from the physical indulgence of food, but from the æsthetic indulgence of a life of refinement away from the irritating pettiness of "public life." The typical saint of modern Christendom should be neither the priest nor the preacher; not even the hospital nurse, though all three may be saints in the old way which is also a good way; but the public-spirited and enlightened city alderman.

CHAPTER IX

LAW AND THE CHRISTIAN CODE

BY PROFESSOR ROSCOE POUND, PH.D., LL.D.

In practice the law usually lags behind the best ideals; how to make our codes more responsive to the Christian conscience is an ever-present problem.

CIVILIZED society brings about, and its continuance and progress require, an adjustment of human relations, and an ordering of human conduct so as to eliminate, or at least minimize, friction and waste in the satisfaction of human claims and attainment of human desires. Because these claims and desires continually overlap and often conflict, it becomes necessary to organize or systematize the satisfaction of wants out of a finite stock of the material goods of existence. As numbers increase the areas of overlapping and the points of contact and conflict increase also, and hence the more crowded a society becomes, and the more complex its structure, and more minute and specialized the division of labour it involves, the more is it dependent upon law, and the more elaborate and detailed is its legal system. Thus law is both a product and a prop of civilization. There is no law without civilization, and no civilization without law. Looked at with reference to the past, law is a product of civilization. Looked at with reference to the present, it is a means of maintaining civilization. Looked at with reference to the future, it is a means of furthering civilization.

But law is only a specialized form of the social control through which civilization is maintained and furthered. It is a systematic, ordered social control through the force of politically organized society. We must not forget that the household, the Church and other religious organizations, fraternal organizations, and social, professional and trade organizations also operate through their internal discipline to order the conduct of their members and to restrain them from anti-social activities. At times one or another

of these organizations has played an important part in the maintaining of civilization. For centuries such agencies have been subordinate and supplementary to the law. The State has achieved a monopoly of force as a regulative instrument.

In the beginning we find an undifferentiated social control in which religion, ethical custom, customs of decision, and law are quite undifferentiated. Indeed it often happens in a relatively primitive society that religion and the organized public opinion or moral sentiment of a kin group are co-equal with the law as agencies of social control. It may even happen that law is confined to a relatively narrow field—usually to the mere preservation of peace and order by putting down private war through a tariff of compulsory money payments to buy off the vengeance of the wronged, and a system of mechanical trials. In the Anglo-Saxon laws, the king's dooms, instead of having a penalty clause or sanction, are often backed only by an exhortation to the king's subjects as pious Christians to keep the peace and obey the laws. One of the earliest and most effective weapons of the law, namely, outlawry, is borrowed from the religious organization of society where it took the form of devotion to the infernal gods, or of excommunication. Again, in early law where promises as such are not usually given legal effect, a promissory oath involving religious sanction may be taken over by the law and made a legal formal contract. In general, an epoch in legal history is marked by secularization of the law.

We may say that Roman law begins when a priestly tradition—in which religious rites, religious custom, ethical custom, political custom, customs of decision, and publicly declared law were fused in an undifferentiated mass—was turned into a lawyer's tradition in which the precepts for governing human conduct and adjusting human relations, which had been established or recognized by the State, were placed in a separate category and distinguished from moral ideas, ethical custom and religious rites.

So also in Continental Europe the modern Roman law which to-day rules half of the world begins when a rising profession of non-clerical lawyers takes over the administration of justice and the practice of advocacy and of advising litigants. In England the common law as a system of law begins in the thirteenth century, and develops along with what was in some sort a secularization of law, in that the non-clerical element came to predominate upon the bench,

and a profession of non-clerical lawyers grew up to practise before the non-clerical judges. Again, in colonial New England the administration of justice was largely in the hands of the clergy. But the middle of the eighteenth century saw the rise of a legal profession, and the history of American law, so far as New England is concerned, begins at this point.

Because of the intimate relation of the beginnings of law to religion, some have attempted to interpret the phenomena of legal history in terms of religion. They have thought of the history of law as that part of the realization of a religious idea which has to do with its manifestation in right and law. Indeed, it has been urged that the Christian religion is an apprehension of things in their total coherence according to their highest cause and purpose, and hence that the modern law and modern State were to be understood in terms thereof. Likewise, attempts have been made to interpret or explain the later Roman law in terms of the influence of Christianity, and to explain many features of American law in terms of Puritanism. So far as they directed attention to what is often a decisive, even if indirect, factor in giving shape to legal precepts and institutions and doctrines, these religious interpretations must not be neglected. But the prevailing view has been that after the stage of primitive law is passed religion has played relatively a small part in legal history.

Three elements go to make up the whole of what we call "law." First the most obvious is a body of precepts or rules of law. Second, there is a traditional method of interpreting and applying legal precepts and of deciding cases, and a traditional technique of developing legal precepts, by means of which those precepts are eked out, expanded or restricted and adapted to the exigencies of administering justice. Third, there is a received body of philosophical, political and ethical ideas as to the purpose of law, and as to what legal precepts ought to be and how they ought to be interpreted and applied. These ideas are the background of all application of the traditional technique to the received or authoritatively established legal precepts.

Consciously or subconsciously legal precepts, whether legislature-made or traditional, are continually reshaped and given new content or new application with reference to these ideas of the purpose of law, and of the nature and end of society. In the long run they are

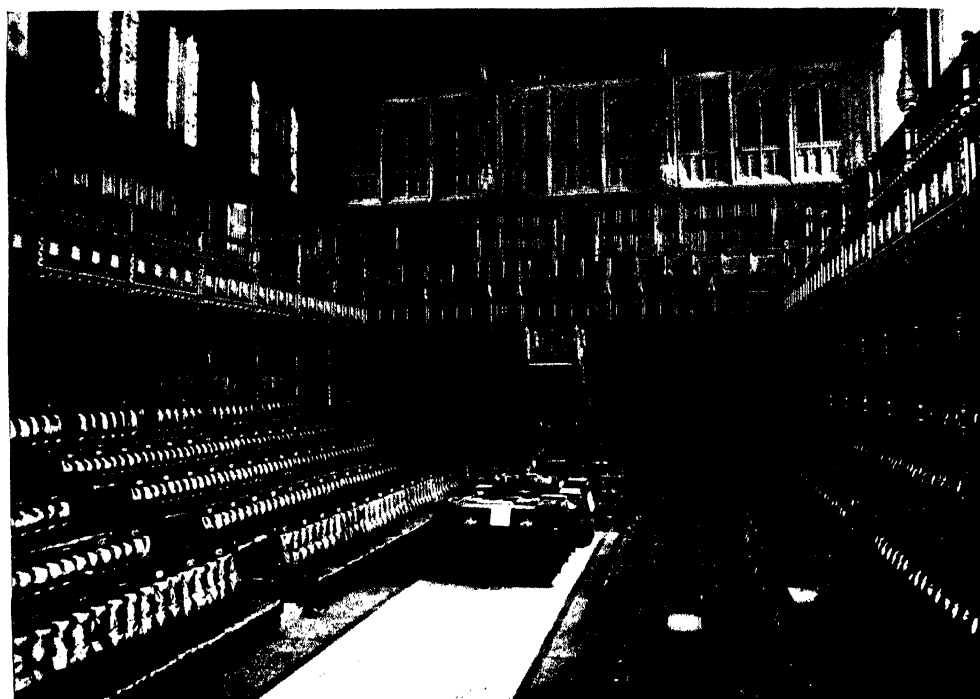


PALAR JUNG BAHADUR

THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. LONDON.



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the dominant factor in lawmaking. It goes without saying that religion may well be a controlling influence in determining this element of the law.

How far Christianity influenced the development of Roman law from Constantine to Justinian has been much debated. It has been urged that in a stage of maturity law becomes so thoroughly a technical art as to escape the influence of moral movements. There is some truth in this. Christianization of the Empire took place in a stage of legal maturity. The substance of the law had ceased to be formative. Except for details here and there the influence of Christianity upon the law was to come later.

Periods of stability and periods of growth alternate in legal history, and it is in periods of growth that religion affects the substance of law. In primitive law, and before the rise of a strict law, religion is often the largest factor in social control. In the strict law, on the other hand, law and morals are sharply differentiated, and the influence of religion is indirect through its effect upon traditional ideals of the purpose of law and the nature and end of the social order. The strict law (as, for example, the Roman law from its secularization to the time of Augustus, or English law from the setting up of the common-law courts to the decisive establishment of equity jurisdiction) is succeeded by a period of growth and expansion in which there is an infusion into the law of moral ideas from the outside. In this period an attempt is made to identify the legal with the moral; to make moral precepts as such, and because they are such, into legal rules. The classical Roman law (from Augustus to Diocletian), the law of Continental Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and English law in the period of the rise of the Court of Chancery are examples. Following this period comes one of legal maturity, such as the Roman law from Diocletian to Justinian, and, in the modern world, the nineteenth-century law. In this stage jurists are engaged in ordering and systematizing the materials developed in a period of growth, and law and morals are differentiated once more.

Conspicuous and decisive influence of religion is to be found in the period of growth between the strict law and the maturity of law. In the Middle Ages a sharp line was drawn between spiritual jurisdiction and temporal jurisdiction—between the jurisdiction of the Church and the jurisdiction of the State. Marriage, divorce,

probate and administration of estates were matters for the courts of the Church. In time they were taken over by the courts of the State. But the impress of the Church law, and hence of the religious atmosphere in which they were given shape, is upon these subjects to-day. Likewise, down to the Reformation the clergyman divided the great offices of State with the soldier, and in the beginnings of our legal polity, the administration of justice was largely in the hands of clergymen. This was true also in Continental Europe. On the Continent the more liberal doctrine of enforcing deliberate promises, without reference to the somewhat arbitrary historical categories of the Roman law, has its origin in the jurisdiction of the Church courts to compel the Christian, on peril of excommunication, to perform his promises as an upright man should.

Liberalization of the strict law of mediæval England was effected partly through the equity administered in the Court of Chancery, partly through the absorption of the custom of merchants into the common law, and partly by the development of more liberal ideas on the part of lawyers and judges in the transition from the society of the Middle Ages, organized on a relational basis to the competitive individualism of the modern world. Equity began its course under clerical auspices, and its measure of decision was found in the demands of "good conscience." More than one idea of the law of the mediæval Church affected English equity. Thus if property is mortgaged or pledged with an express agreement that the property shall belong absolutely to the creditor, if the debt is not paid at a time fixed, equity will disregard this agreement and will allow the debtor to redeem the property by paying the debt and interest. Also equity will not allow creditors to impose upon or exact from mortgagors or pledgers oppressive terms or conditions cutting off or hindering exercise of this right of redemption. These doctrines of English equity have their origin in texts of the canon law or law of the mediæval Church which go back probably to the legislation of Constantine. Also the views of equity as to the moral, and hence equitably binding force of promises and agreements, its eagerness to thwart fraud, its determination not to allow one man to be enriched unjustly at the expense of another, its insistence upon giving effect to defectively executed carryings-out of a moral obligation—these and many more characteristic phenomena of English equity show the mark of the religious thought and religious

writing of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the reign of Henry VIII, the Chancellor, in passing on the rights and powers of an executor, said to a lawyer who had explained to him that by the common law of England the executor was legal owner of the assets of the estate: "The law of this court is none other than the law of God." For a time the court of equity consciously endeavoured to make morals into law. Moreover, this meant Christian morals, and this development of equity took place in a time of religious awakening at a decisive epoch in the history of Anglo-American law.

Another notable instance of religious influence is to be seen in the effect of the writings of the Protestant jurist-theologians of the Reformation, especially upon public law. The doctrines of individual responsibility and authority of the individual conscience, which they supported, were no mean factors in promoting that tenderness of individual rights, dislike of administrative supervision of individual action, and system of checks and balances which has been characteristic of our common law polity since the seventeenth century. The strong ethical element in the philosophy of the jurists of the Reformation co-operated with the emphasis which the religious reformers put on abstaining from sinful conduct rather than on repentance therefor. Indeed, one of the starting-points of the legal and political philosophy that took form in the bills of rights in American constitutions is in the writings of these Protestant jurist-theologians. It was one of these writers who took up the idea of a contract between ruler and ruled which had been a controversial weapon in the conflicts of temporal sovereigns with the Church during the Middle Ages, used it as the basis of political theory, and so founded the natural law which governed juristic thought for the next two centuries. International law almost had its origin in the treatise of Grotius on the law of war and peace (1625), and the debt of that treatise to these jurist-theologians is obvious.

Still more significant for American law is the influence of Puritanism. There are two periods in Anglo-American law in which rules and doctrines were formative, and in which, therefore, the ideal element of the law—the ideas of judges and jurists and lawyers as to the purpose of law and what legal precepts ought to be in view thereof—was especially active in reshaping traditional legal materials, and in bringing into the law ideas from without and

giving them legal form and legal authority. These periods were the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century in England, and the time of legal and institutional development in the United States that came to an end with the American Civil War. In the former, a system of law to go round the world with the English people and English speech had to be made on the basis of the mediæval tradition. In the latter, it was necessary to overhaul the whole body of English law as it stood at the end of the eighteenth century, and reshape it in its details with reference to what was applicable to the geographical, social, political, and economic conditions of American life. The spirit of these times and of the men of these times gave colour to American law. The age of Coke (Attorney-General under Elizabeth, Chief Justice under James I, a leader in Parliament against Charles I, and the oracle of the common law) was the age of the Puritan in England. Indeed, Coke's "Second Institute," which might almost be a text-book of American constitutional law, was published by order of the Long Parliament. Also the period that ends with the American Civil War was the age of the Puritan in America. The Puritan doctrine of a "willing covenant of conscious faith," the Puritan doctrine of "consociation but not subordination," and the consequent individualistic conception that all legal consequences are to depend upon some exertion of the individual will, have left their stamp upon American law of to-day on every side. Moreover, the Puritan was a firm believer in enacted law. Under the Commonwealth in England there was a great outburst of legislative activity such as had not happened before, and did not happen again until the legislative reform movement of the nineteenth century. Also colonial Massachusetts took the lead in putting the statute law in order some two hundred years before the revision of English legislation. Thus many of the characteristic statutes of the legislative reform movement in the United States were drawn under Puritan influence, and religious ideas profoundly affected them.

To-day there are signs on every hand that we are entering upon a new period of legal development. In such a time religion, as in past periods of legal growth, must inevitably play a great part. The characteristic ideas of recent juristic thought, namely, higher valuing of the individual human being, individualizing of the application of legal precepts, preventive justice, recognition of the

social interest in the individual moral and social life, more effective securing of the social interest in dependents and defectives, the tendency to stress the idea of service or of social function rather than the conception of rights, and the insistence upon social courses of conduct—all these things have great possibilities for the law of the future.

CHAPTER X

BUSINESS ETHICS AND CHRISTIAN STANDARDS

BY ANGUS WATSON AND LEONARD J. KING, M.A.

From the Christian point of view a business transaction should be an exchange in which both the buyer and the seller are benefited. Competition is not necessarily an evil. The new spirit pervading enlightened leaders in industry is that of building up a sound business by good service to the community rather than by merely ousting rivals.

SUCCESSFUL trading as it is practised to-day consists of making or distributing something and exchanging it for something else at a profit. It may be well to note in the first place that a profit is presupposed because unless the seller gets something by way of interest to recoup for the time and labour spent in making his article and the risk his enterprise involves, he has no inducement to make it, and cannot long continue to do so and live. Secondly, this definition presupposes a willing buyer because without a market the seller is helpless. Thirdly, it presupposes a satisfied purchaser, otherwise there will be no permanence in the market and the business will soon fail.

Since to many minds working for gain seems quite opposed to Christian principles, it may be well to point out that profits are the sole means by which business development can be effected, periods of depression provided against, and the next generation (who are parasitic on their elders until they can provide for themselves by their own efforts) reared and educated. Hence the real problems arising from the consideration of working for gain are, the sources of profits, the methods of their distribution and their limitation to reasonable dimensions.

All business concerned with the manufacturing and selling of material goods resolves itself ultimately into the application of Capital and Labour to the gifts of nature, with a view to transforming these latter into forms useful to mankind, and conveying the manufactured products to the people who need them. Capital

provides Labour with the machinery, raw materials and accommodation for production, and also with wages and salaries until such time as the products have been marketed and paid for.

What is Capital? Capital is the margin saved as between the earning and the spending of an individual, or the credit available because of that saving. In its final sense it can never be anything else. It is true that the introduction of Joint Stock methods of trading seem to have modified this, and that our Banking system would appear to have introduced a new form of capital, but, in reality, both our Limited Liability Shareholders and our Joint Stock Banks are only investing the savings that separate citizens have either saved or inherited, or are loaning money which they advance on the security or credit of such citizens.

To take a simple illustration. "A" and "B" are both employed in some work for which they receive each £4 weekly. "A" spends his £4 as he earns it (there is no need to assume that he does not spend it wisely), "B" saves 20s. weekly. At the end of ten years "B" has £500 in capital—in other words, he is a capitalist. Whether he invests this in industry himself by going into business on his own behalf, or taking shares in some other business, or whether he puts it out at interest with a bank, the result is the same. It finally finds its way into trade. For this investment he receives certain interest, according to the risk that he runs, which is provided out of the profit which the industry earns. What he invests is not really money, but so many boots not worn, so much food not eaten, so much pleasure not taken. He lends what he has saved. "But," it may be said, "he may not have saved it, he may have inherited it."

May a father hand the fruits of his labour to his son? Here we are on less certain ground. Our present laws of inheritance are by no means final, and they have not all necessarily the sanction of moral law, but Providence is scrupulously just, and ultimately a man cannot keep what he is unworthy to hold. Brains and character are needed to administer and use inherited capital: it is but dynamite in the hands of a baby to him that is not worthy of the trust. "Three generations, clogs to clogs"—the Lancashire saying—is worthy of careful consideration.

But Capital is not only cash; it is credit, and indeed it is more often this, because there is not enough specie in the world with

which to transact the world's business. But credit again is a matter of character. People do not readily give credit to the gambler, the libertine, or the drunkard, and if they do they generally lose their money. In banking circles what a man *is* often proves more important than what a man *has*. Some men can raise more capital on a bare promise to pay than if they were millionaires.

When ill-informed writers inveigh against Capital, as they sometimes do, they forget that its roots are in moral soil, and that in its final sense it represents sacrifice and character, and is only permanent while it is backed by that security. Labour is as helpless without it as a farmer would be without tools with which to break up his land, or food on which to live till his harvest has ripened. By no method can Labour carry out its tasks unless Capital is at hand to give it support.

It should not be difficult to define the term "Labour," but very different interpretations are given to it by various economists. The older school claimed that it should be limited to physical labour, but this viewpoint would hardly find acceptance to-day. Labour is the contribution made to industry by anyone employed in forwarding its progress through personal service or effort. The riveter who rivets the plates of a steamer is a labourer, but so is the architect who designs the ship; the miner who wins the coal is a labourer, but so is the scientist who, by his training and experience, locates the mine; the engine driver who drives the express is a labourer, but so is the engineer who designs the engine, and it must be obvious that the service which each renders varies very widely in its value to the community, and is entitled to widely fluctuating standards of remuneration by the community.

Labour may be divided into at least three classes. The first, the merely mechanical or repetitive type, which relies for its success largely on physical power; the second, the managerial type which does not necessarily create new methods, but which controls, regulates and directs, and secures materials and tools for the muscular worker, and which, therefore, calls for mental rather than physical alertness; and the third, that of the creative worker, which originates new methods, discovers new paths, and is in very truth the soul of industry. In this last class we would include George Stephenson, who made a new world by the invention of the steam locomotive; Thomas Edison, who began a new era with his application of

electricity to industry; Sir Charles Parsons, who put this country in the forefront of marine engineering with his turbine motors, and others who have contributed through their unceasing efforts to the prosperity of thousands. These men differ from their fellows only in that their labour has been more constant, their discipline more severe, and their service to humanity more outstanding. They have employed the Capital lent them by others to forward their inventions, but their signal service to their fellows has been that by their own labour of hand and mind they have brought added prosperity to thousands. Labour then, consists of all the numerous activities of the citizens who give their energy or their thoughts to secure the success of the industry in which they are engaged, while Capital is the inert material contribution lent to make this success possible. Capital is helpless without the service of Labour.

What then are the just claims of Capital? First, a fair return on the sum risked in industry. Wages are, of course, a first charge on all business; they have to be paid regularly so long as the trade is carried on at all, but when this obligation has been discharged, Capital is entitled to its own share of the fruits of the venture. What is a fair return? One obviously measured by the risks run. When a venture has been tested, the risks can be fairly estimated, and the interest expected proportionately reduced, but it cannot be cause for complaint, if, to begin with, the return is a higher one. Sir Benjamin Brown stated, before the World War, that the average yearly return paid in British shipbuilding was 5 per cent.—certainly not too large a profit when all the risks run were remembered. Profits, in any event, regulate themselves, unless artificially controlled, for new Capital is soon tempted into profitable ventures.

It is urged in some directions that Labour has a moral claim to a share in the fruits of industry beyond a certain fixed remuneration to Capital. There appears to be no final argument, however, which demonstrates that there are rights which have to be recognized here. When Labour has received its just share of the fruits of industry, as it does when the wages governing the trade have been paid to it, then any margin of profit above the normal would appear to belong at least as much to the consumer as to the business, and there is a strong case for its disposal by means of either a reduction in price of the finished product or some other form of rebate to the consumer.

Second, an honest day's work for the wages paid. "Ca' canny" is dishonest and foolish, and long continued is the dry rot which will eventually destroy any business. Quite certainly the ideal industry will see the end of it in all ranks of employment, and no worker will be happy or content unless he is contributing to his work the best that is in him.

It is, of course, quite easy to criticize problems of labour, and to sneer cheaply at the man who, accepting his week's wages from his employer, is not prepared to do an honest week's work. It must be remembered, however, that this point of view was born in the spirit of altruism. In the days when periodic employment was both common and constant, it was not unnatural that the man in a job should try to make his work spin out so that two men were employed instead of one, and taking a short view of things the workman seemed by this policy to be helping his fellows. The real fact, however, is that any man who contributes less than his best to the task to which he has put his hand injures alike society, his fellows, and himself. The result of slack service is an increase in the cost of the product manufactured, with resulting injury to the ultimate consumer, and is also detrimental to the worker because the time soon comes when the low standard which he has set for himself becomes the best that he can give, and his whole life becomes poisoned with the spirit of slackness, inefficiency and mental dishonesty.

This attitude toward life cannot be laid aside when the closing bell sounds for the cessation of the day's work. It enters into the very fibre of a man's being, makes him a self-despising and an unworthy citizen, and a workman turning out a poor quality product. Ruskin stated the bare truth when he urged that a bad man could never be a good workman, and that his product would gradually become as poor as his services.

Third, loyalty and good-will to the employer or the Company. Trade Unionism at one time secured only beneficent advantage to the employee, but in its later developments, in which it threatens to become a menace to national prosperity, it often teaches class conflict.

The struggles of the last few years between Capital and Labour have shown that combinations which are formed with the intention of coercing the other party to the acceptance of conditions which they would not agree to voluntarily are bad in principle and dangerous in practice. Trade Unionism in the future can continue to

secure fair trading conditions for Labour, the provision of political and other machinery, so that wrongs may be righted and Labour fairly represented, but it cannot pursue a policy of coercion without ultimate destruction. This is, of course, equally true of federated Capital, which has no more justification for its existence than federated Labour. By men who are familiar with an appeal to brute force as the only method of solving their problems, the suggestion that, ultimately, trade disputes will be dealt with on a basis of mutual good-will, and that arbitration will replace the strike or lock-out, may be regarded as an impossible dream. But in actual practice there are many businesses which have long ago discovered that professional outside interference introduces difficulties greater than any which it can remove, and that coercive measures are never permanently successful.

What are the moral claims of the wage earner? First, a wage on which the employee can provide fairly for his needs. His physical well-being is his capital; anything which will prevent him being at his best is unfair to him. Trade Unionism, and later, the Trade Boards Act, have set up the standard of a fixed rate, but, in the long run, this is unfair to the worker himself. The earning capacity of workmen varies enormously, and it is not fair that a first-class workman should have no incentive to do better than his less capable colleague. There is much to be said for a minimum wage, but nothing for a fixed wage if Labour is to be asked to give of its best. The drawbacks to a minimum wage are its tendency to become a maximum and the difficulty which attends attempts to arrive at a fair amount. The Trade Boards use the age of an employee as the standard, but this is unfair to the workman, and is a direct inducement to the employer to engage young and badly paid Labour, or if the Trade Union is able to control this, to pay a first-class workman less than he is entitled to when his work is compared with that of his fellows. This again is a direct discouragement to good work, and is often destructive of it.

The great shadow over the working classes, which lengthens as the years go by, is the tragic possibility of being thrown out of work. It is no more possible to regulate permanent prosperity than it is to control the course of the stars, but periodic unemployment can, and must be, provided against, and this should be the task of every wise employer.

It need hardly be said that the ideal business provides at every point for the physical and moral well-being of the employees. Every part of the business plant in factory, warehouse or office, should be properly protected, lighted, ventilated, and heated, for the employer will recognize that just as his service is part of the contribution toward the prosperity of the concern, so is his physical health the capital of the employee.

All of these things, however, will not of themselves secure a sufficient measure of interest for the employee. He must be trained to feel that he really has a stake in the business; that his opinions regarding its management are valuable and are sought for, and that he has an effective voice in its general policy. This does not mean that he will at once be able to offer any assistance in complicated problems of finance, markets, or technical matters, but he will gradually grow up through this experience to understand what the problems of the business are, and in a surprisingly short while will be able to contribute really valuable help in their solution, besides understanding the many difficulties and burdens which the Head has to bear.

What are the responsibilities of the business leader to the public he serves? Under modern conditions the purchaser as a rule has the whip hand, because for practically every article on the market there is a substitute or a choice available. If a dealer gives bad service he is usually the sufferer, because in the long run he will lose the only sound basis upon which successful trading is built, which is the repeat order. Customers do not go back to a dealer who deceives them. One occasionally hears of shop assistants whose consciences are disturbed because they are ordered to misrepresent their wares, or to give short measure. But these methods of business can never lead to success, and those who are working for employers who adopt them would do well to obtain other employment at the first opportunity, before the business fails. No reputable business of any length of standing can afford deliberately to cheat its customers.

There are, however, some businesses which by "sweated labour" are able to undersell more honest competitors. This method of profit-making can only be checked by a more enlightened national conscience, because its persistence is largely due to those purchasers who think only of price when they are shopping and do not pause

for a moment to consider whether the wares offered can possibly have been produced by labour earning a just wage.

Closely bound up with the problems of price and of profits are questions of money and exchange and also of speculative dealing. The former is exceedingly complicated and international in its ramifications and the difficulties which arise and the fluctuations of price consequent upon them are due quite as much to the ignorance of financiers as to any malignant manipulation. The money situation is at present rather badly out of hand. But with good-will, a great deal more study of causes and effects of dislocation of industry due to inefficient control of the means of exchange, and a much more general readiness on the part of financiers to realize that money is primarily only a measure of the value of commodities and of little commodity value in itself, even these intricate problems would appear to be in no wise insoluble.

The question of speculative dealing is closely bound up with that of an excessive number of middle men handling goods before they reach the final market. Here, however, while purely speculative dealing in futures may degenerate into sheer gambling, it must be remembered that in some industries, such for example as certain textiles, the speculator of experience and knowledge not infrequently has a steadying influence on prices by acting as a species of insurance broker. As to the interpolation of middle men, and the multiplication of dealers in some commodities, such for example as milk, while on the surface there seems to be a good theoretical case for their reduction, it must be remembered that they are performing a service which their customers appreciate sufficiently to pay for, otherwise they would not survive.

If industrial and commercial conditions are examined as a whole, it becomes apparent that causes of friction are due far more to ignorance and misunderstanding than to individual malice and greed. That the remedy lies in the suppression of individualism and its replacement by one of the many suggested forms of collectivism seems, however, very doubtful.

The course of economic and political history shows a steady tendency on the one hand for mankind through division of labour to become more and more interdependent, and on the other hand to attain greater individual freedom. The history of combination is at least as open to adverse criticism as that of individualism. When

we analyse the causes of the failure of great combinations, whether of nations or of economic amalgamations, whether of Capital or of Labour, we find that they are usually precisely those which make unbridled individualism obnoxious—men have combined to attack, politically or economically, other men, and so in their corporate capacity have only exercised in a bloated form acquisitive individualism.

Most industrial progress has been attained by intelligent co-operation in the application of the inventions of individuals. In the past it appears to have been assumed, as it is still assumed by many to-day, that competition must always aim at the extinction of all rivals and that combination should always be directed to the same end.

The new spirit pervading enlightened leaders in industry is that of building up a sound business by good service to the community rather than by merely ousting rivals. If this practice results in the elimination of those who render poor service, it is apparent that the community as a whole will benefit. Competition is not necessarily an evil. As between employers and employed the spirit which is being fostered is that of working *with* one another in a common aim of service to the community instead of the old idea of the former employing the latter to work *for* them, with all the unpleasant implications which attend the use of that preposition "*for*."

If it is agreed that this new spirit is in accordance with Christian principles of service, then it remains for all who profess and call themselves Christians in whatever capacity they may be working at any particular time, whether as shareholders, employers, employees or purchasers, to do all they can to foster it by consistent practice as well as by precept.

CHAPTER XI

THE RIGHT OF OWNERSHIP

BY R. M. MACIVER, PH.D.

The primitive Christian teaching about property was based on a conception of "stewardship" or service, but perhaps no primitive Christian principle has been so flagrantly neglected as this. As a result the property right is to-day being called drastically in question by powerful forces which often disclaim any connexion with Christianity.

OWNERSHIP is the most dangerous and perhaps the most necessary of all the rights devised by social man—most necessary because without property he is helpless, incapable of activity or any fulfilment, most dangerous because property is the great divider, raising sheer barriers between mine and thine, against which the strongest desires of men incessantly surge. The form of ownership is the foundation of every social order and the supreme institutional test of its ethical quality. Every system of ethics, and beyond that every religion must, in so far as it exercises a living influence in the world, take a clear stand on this crucial question.

We can broadly distinguish successive stages in the general attitude of Christianity towards ownership. Christianity was at first an alien disturber of the social order, out of accord with the prevailing traditions. It asserted with quiet underground persistence its own view of life, but it was powerless to control to its ends the great machine of State. It had no influence over political authority or over social institutions. Its kingdom was not of this world. Under these conditions it formed an inner society of its own while accepting the conditions imposed by the outer world. The things of Cæsar must be rendered unto Cæsar. Slavery and exploitation were part of the established order. To this order they were submissive. Had not St. Paul said, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers"? It was only to be for a season, for the end of the world was at hand. It was therefore only in the retreat of the small Chris-

tian community that their ideas on property found expression. In the household of faith what a man had was for the service of the brethren. The Christian duty to help the needy overbore the sense of private ownership, and led to a mutuality of possession which approached the character of a communism. Indeed it was said of the early Christians by outside observers like Lucian that they "held all things in common."

A new stage begins in that remarkable process by which Christianity gained acceptance as the official religion of the Roman world. The triumph was achieved at a cost. There was an inevitable dilution of Christianity. The leaven permeated the whole lump but it lost in the process much of its energy and purity. The problem of applying Christian ideas of property within the established order was in any case a far more difficult one than that which the simple Christian community, withdrawn from "the world," had to meet. There were various aspects of the established code of the getting and the owning of wealth which were inconsistent with the original spirit of Christianity, but the chief of these was the system of slavery. Here was the test before which established Christianity signally failed. The Fathers might declare that God had intended the earth for the common possession of all men, so that each might have according to his need. They might insist, like St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, that it was the greed of men which had perverted this original order. But these too abstract notions were fused with the philosophical distinction between what exists by "nature" and what exists by convention, and the former was thought of as a remote ideal, lost to the world since the "fall" and incompatible with the desires and instincts of fallen humanity. Their practical precepts were mainly an exhortation to almsgiving. Slavery was suffered, with only such modifications as were implied in the humane treatment of the slave. "Broadly speaking," says Vernon Bartlet, "the idea of property as a social and economic institution really remained pagan and, so far as embodied in law, Roman in its spirit and presuppositions."

A great change came over the institution of property as out of the chaos of a broken civilization the system of feudalism took form. A vast empire fell into the hands of barbarians, but its commerce, trade, and manufactures were ruined, and little remained but the primary form of possession, that of the land itself. Nor was it

possible for the invaders to maintain a centralized control, for which they lacked alike the science and the discipline. So arose the feudal order with its hierarchical system of land-tenure, with its great lords and lesser lords who held their lands as "fiefs," subject to financial and military service rendered to an overlord, ultimately the king or emperor.

Again the Christian religion maintained and enhanced its influence beyond these catastrophic changes, but again it suffered a perilous metamorphosis. For the Church too became a feudal proprietor, and lords spiritual took their place beside lords temporal. The more deeply religious natures again found refuge in special retreats, in such of the monastic communities as abandoned the pretensions of power or wealth and taught the rule of poverty and worldly sacrifice. But the Church as a whole did little to change the prevailing principle of property, although that principle tended in a peculiar degree to make personal rights depend on the possession of land, and to make the non-possessor, the cultivator, the serf, a mere adjunct of the land to which he was bound. Within this order there grew up the great distinction of Church and State, of the temporal and spiritual powers, the two authorities acting within a single society. Property was the creation of the State, a temporal institution which like any other might be and should be made subservient to the spiritual power. But the fixity of institutions was little questioned in that age. Instead, therefore, of attacking the degradation of personality which the system involved the Church was concerned to advocate almsgiving and other forms of charity. Instead of combating serfdom and slavery the Church forbade usury. The attack on usury was in large measure justified by the economic conditions of an age in which borrowing was mainly due to the sheer necessity of the poor or to the extravagance of the rich, and therefore was associated with either extortion or prodigality. It lost most of its efficacy as soon as industrial and commercial development created the opportunity for productive borrowing.

Slavery passed away. The serfs were gradually liberated as a new economy came into being. The influence of the Church tended to the side of liberation, but it must be admitted that the efficient causes were social and economic, and not primarily religious. In the Middle Ages men were powerfully controlled by ideals, but they were not ideals of social development. The remarkable

developments which took place during this period were not the results of conscious purpose working towards these goals. Men either accepted the prevailing social system, imbued with the thought of its fixity, or else they withdraw from society as from a place unalterably alien to their spirits. The "imitation of Christ" set men apart from "the world." Under such conditions men like St. Francis of Assisi embraced a life of poverty, but this sheer abnegation, intensely religious as it was, offered no constructive principle by which the ownership of wealth might be converted to the greater service of mankind.

The feudal system decayed. Land-ownership declined in significance before the new wealth of commerce and then of industry. An ever smaller proportion of the population of civilized countries was needed to till the land and supply the rest with its agricultural needs. New opportunities and forms of enterprise arose. The age of capitalism had begun. Wealth became more fluid, more mobile, in a sense more intangible. Ownership became increasingly the ownership of rights or titles to income, whose very source might be unknown to the recipient. Forms of inheritance, developed under a land economy, such as entail and primogeniture, became more or less obsolete. And as the character of ownership changed, so did the problems of social justice. The central problem was no longer that of land-owner and land-cultivator but that of capitalist and wage-earner. The new age was one of wealth and instability, of opportunity and lack of opportunity, of restless change in which the thought of a predestined and eternal order of things could bring little comfort to the rich and less resignation to the poor. The grounds of discontent were also those of hope. The claims of social justice became louder and more insistent. There was no longer any retreat for the religious spirit. Men required a social gospel, an application of Christianity to the distracting conditions of an age of vast economic change.

In contrast with the Middle Ages the modern period developed an individualistic outlook. This was true in religion also, particularly in the growing body of Protestantism. The stress was laid on a personal salvation, a direct relation between the individual and God. This spirit was revealed in the Protestant attitude towards property. It is witnessed most clearly in the Puritan doctrine, in which private property is a gift of God, and the difference of wealth

and poverty falls within the divine order. But the apportionment of it is, under "providence," dependent on individual endeavour, on the industry and skill and enterprise which a man displays. The Puritan accentuated accordingly the virtue of prudence. The counsel of prudence was more apt to control the spending than the getting of wealth, apart from ordinary considerations of honesty. It exalted self-help and self-reliance. The social responsibility of wealth it translated as stewardship, the obligation to make the best use of what one has, to treat it as a trust, and to minister personally to the needs of others.

This ideal of stewardship is capable of great development, but it has distinct limitations. It forms an admirable guide in the disposal and consumption of wealth, but it is far less adequate to furnish a constructive criticism of the institutions on which wealth and poverty depend. It is apt to ignore the immense social evils resulting from the lack of opportunity, from the insecurity of employment, from the sheer dependence of large numbers of wage-earners on a system which subjects them to the excessive, exhausting, and often degrading hazards of demand and supply. It is apt to be over-complacent about riches and poverty, as though the extreme disparities of these were divinely ordered. It is scrupulous concerning individual rectitude but less so concerning social equity. It praises self-reliance, but scarcely recognizes how the spirit of the poor may be embittered or broken by their poverty. It is sympathetic with success but unsympathetic with failure, the causes of which it views too narrowly. On that account it falls short of the understanding of Christianity, with its supreme insistence on the intrinsic worth of the individual, in terms of which it judges all social institutions.

There has been, consequently, among those who seek the profounder meaning of Christianity, a dissatisfaction with the prevalent Protestant ideal, an attempt to escape from its legalism and to subject the institutions of ownership to a more rigorous scrutiny. They endeavour to take cognizance of the system itself instead of accepting it as existing by divine ordinance. If they realize its merits, they are not thereby blinded to its defects. The Puritan brought the individual to the bar of judgment and on the whole left the institution alone. But the opposite tendency has also its roots in Christianity.

Nor should it be forgotten that in all ages there have been Christian groups intensely concerned with this problem of ownership. We have spoken most cursorily of prevailing tendencies, but even in the times of a rigid orthodoxy the free spirit of Christianity expressed itself in diverse ways. Religion cannot be bound to any social formula. It has inspired both the most individualistic and the most collectivistic doctrines of property, and the adherents of both have been able to cite the Scriptures in their favour. In this connection it is worth noting that though recent communism has shown an anti-religious bias, most earlier forms of communism claimed the authority of religion. They were generally of a simple ascetic character and are significant as showing how a strong religious conviction can transform the social order, often in curious ways contrary to the normal instincts of men. In fact there is much evidence to show that a communistic order can maintain itself only where its members are pervaded with a deep sense of religion. It is usually religion of a narrow pietistic character, as expounded to the faithful by some fervent apostle.

These extreme interpretations have influenced only an insignificant number of people. It is more important for our purpose to consider the relation of Christianity to the general system of ownership as it exists within a whole civilization. But first let us consider the characteristic features of ownership as they are revealed in the present economic order. Subtly and imperceptibly these have undergone an epochal change since the days of feudalism, even since the eighteenth century.

To a thinker like Locke, reflecting the views of his age, property was an absolute thing. It was a first principle of his political philosophy that the State could not rightfully take away any part of a man's property without his own consent. Property was viewed out of its social relationship, as though it were purely created by the discovery and labour of isolated individuals or groups. It was sacrosanct and indefeasible, something that was ultimately a man's *own*. This doctrine permeated the legal code which that age has bequeathed to us, and it stimulated the *laissez-faire* economics of the nineteenth century. But its foundations, at no time secure, have been finally overthrown by the evolution of capitalism.

It may seem strange that capitalism, with its strong individualistic bias and its insistence on enterprise, should be regarded as destroy-

ing the principle of absolute property. Nevertheless it is the case. For capitalism separates income from ownership. The great agencies of production and exchange, factories and mines and railways and ships and all the rest, come to be owned corporately. No individual can point to them and say, This or this part belongs to me. As a shareholder he has a title to a proportionate share in the revenue, a right to a fluctuating return which is very different from the substantive possession of a tangible good. Moreover, that return is computed in money (or credit) and money itself is a social creation whose command over goods is never constant. It depends on entirely unstable factors and it is greatly influenced by the policy of the State. Thus a State by increasing or decreasing the supply of money or credit can redistribute wealth in a quite revolutionary way, without apparently touching the property of anyone. Wealth is so dependent on social conditions that every change in these conditions affects and alters its amount and distribution. Finally, no modern State could endure if it accepted the principle of Locke. Its system of taxation, direct and indirect, denies the absolute right of property. It claims in the name of the whole community a certain control over wealth. It must find other principles of fairness than that each should contribute according to the service he receives, for there is no measure of such service. In the last resort it must justify its taxation in the name of the common welfare. Thus neither from the legal nor from the economic standpoint can there be found any absolute right in property.

Nor again can we say that morally there exists an absolute right. Here too we have an idea which, though never valid, has been rendered meaningless by social evolution. While a man owned and produced by himself he might claim the product as all his own. But when all production is dependent on a most elaborate system of co-operation and division of labour, who is to say how much, or what, *morally* belongs to each participant? When a man claims to receive what he is "worth" on any absolute standard, he simply fails to understand his social and economic dependence. The hard parable of the labourers in the vineyard suggests at least this lesson, that no man can measure his absolute worth by a mere comparison with others. In the modern world this fact raises some of the most perplexing problems of ownership. Consider, for example, the relation of labour and capital. How much of the joint product is

"due" to capital and how much to labour? No man can tell. Without labour capital is impotent and without capital labour is idle, so it is vain to ask how much either would produce without the other. The economic forces which in fact apportion its share to each are not proportioned to this unknown measure of their respective productivities. And in so far as social or political control is applied within this sphere, it must justify itself in other ways than on the plea that it renders to each what is its own. In the last resort it can justify itself only by a consideration of the common welfare, and the means whereby it is to be attained.

This brief review must suffice to show the relative character of ownership under modern economic conditions. It clears the ground for any application of Christian principles to these conditions. For to Christianity no institution is supreme over life and personality. No institution stands in its own right. Every institution, whether it be religious or economic, is made for man, and never man for the institution. It is justified or condemned by its fruits. If it promotes the good of man, it is fit to endure save in so far as it can be bettered. If it is barren or hurtful, it cannot by any claim of inherent right escape the command, "Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?"

No impartial witness can deny that the present system of ownership involves some very serious evils. The power which wealth possesses is enormous and ubiquitous, penetrating to every corner of the social structure, and exercising a dominant influence on all social standards. It is the greatest power of the modern world, having means at its command which earlier ages never dreamed of. Every advance of science endues it with new weapons. Property, as has often been pointed out, is power over men no less than power over things. In particular it is power over the minds of men, because it can influence or own the great new pervasive agencies for the expression of opinion. On this account the well-to-do find it hard to appreciate the instability, the haunting insecurity, the degrading dependence, the privation of the poor. They do not realize the slights the poor suffer, just because they are poor, the limitations which poverty brings. They do not realize the lack of incentive which robs their working life of meaning and often of hope. Perhaps most of all they fail to perceive the true evil of unemployment. That multitudes should be subject constantly to

this menace, that they should at a few hours' notice be liable to find themselves thrown out of work, discarded and helpless, that their spirits and their meagre resources should be exhausted in vain endeavours to find a livelihood while their families suffer want and their own powers decay—here is a tragic situation which calls for the most earnest thought and effort. But the prosperous are often so uplifted by their prosperity that they fail to perceive it.

A fearless and unselfish estimate of these and other defects may surely be claimed as essential to the Christian attitude towards society. They should not at the same time blind us to what our present system has achieved. What Adam Smith said a century and a half ago is doubly true to-day, that "the accommodation of the most common artificer or day-labourer in a civilized and thriving country" vastly exceeds "that of many an African king, the absolute master of the lives and liberties of ten thousand naked savages." The material conditions of a healthy and happy life have been wonderfully extended, and greater numbers enjoy in our age the benefits of security and reasonable comfort than ever in the past. In some measure, too, we have learned that we are all our brothers' keepers, and have established social means for the insurance and protection of the weaker against exploitation, against unremitting toil, against certain of the perils of modern industry. In spite of the glaring defects which remain, the conditions of life and work have been in a degree humanized—in other words, they have been brought nearer to the Christian ideal of brotherhood.

What then can we conclude regarding the Christian attitude towards ownership? Our review brings this fact into clear light, that there is no one institutional system which is prescribed by Christianity. It is not committed to any one social order, with which it stands or falls. Institutions grow and change and pass. For the most part they are not deliberately constructed at all, but arise in response to changing conditions in the endless struggle of man with his environment. Any formula of construction would be alien to the enduring spirit of religion, for every formula of construction is transient. What concerns religion is the spirit that animates the institution. If that spirit is true the institution will shape itself to the spiritual need of the age. Take for example the care of the poor, on which Christianity has laid stress in every age. In a simple and relatively static society that duty can be fulfilled

through the personal solicitude of each for his needy neighbour, through the method of charity and kindly aid. In a complex and diversified society such as our own that method is quite inadequate. The spirit of Christianity must fulfil itself in other ways. The principle is the same, that the value of the person, even of "the least of these my brethren," is supreme over considerations of economic advantage. But to secure it the social institutions of the age must be adapted to that end. That every one should be saved from the soul-destroying pressure of helpless want we must establish minimum standards of wages and conditions of work which provide for all the opportunity of a healthy and decent and responsible life. And in an age like ours this demands not only personal good-will but also social control.

If we turn lastly from the aspect of poverty to the aspect of wealth we see that on this side also each age must work out its own salvation. The social responsibilities of wealth must be translated into terms of the age. Stewardship expresses the direct personal responsibility of the owner of wealth, as a source of power and service which he holds in trust. If that trust is rightly understood, the idea of stewardship best expresses the proper attitude for one who owns what is a means not only of personal satisfaction but also of social welfare. The power of wealth is so manifold, for good and for ill, for service and for exploitation, for leadership and for mere domination, that it involves a profound moral responsibility. This responsibility is so hard that in the Christian teaching wealth is regarded as a supreme peril, so that at times the command is necessary, as to the rich young ruler, which bids a man sell all that he has and give to the poor. In this case it might be maintained that the sacrifice was necessary, not primarily for the sake of the poor but for the sake of the ruler. It is the limiting case of stewardship, where the trust is too great for the man. At all costs the teaching of Christ bids a man put the integrity of his soul above possession. If he can truly fulfil the idea of stewardship he must do so. But stewardship, we must repeat, is the personal attitude. There remain problems of ownership which stewardship does not suffice to solve. It does not solve the problems of the acquisition of wealth but only of its management. It does not solve the problem of economic distribution, say as between labour and capital. It does not solve the problem of inheritance. These are matters of institution. In respect of them the teaching of

Christ is perfectly clear. It is identified with no formula of reconstruction. It demands a more difficult allegiance, an attitude of will. If men are inspired with this ideal, they will still fulfil its message in diverse ways, according as they interpret the value of particular institutions. But they will be saved from exalting any institution above the life it serves. They will not put excessive trust in institutions, whether those that exist or those of which they dream. The life is more than meat, and the body than raiment. Given that faith, the institutions of society will respond to its needs, and nothing that is of worth in any institution can be lost.

CHAPTER XII

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR CHRISTIANITY

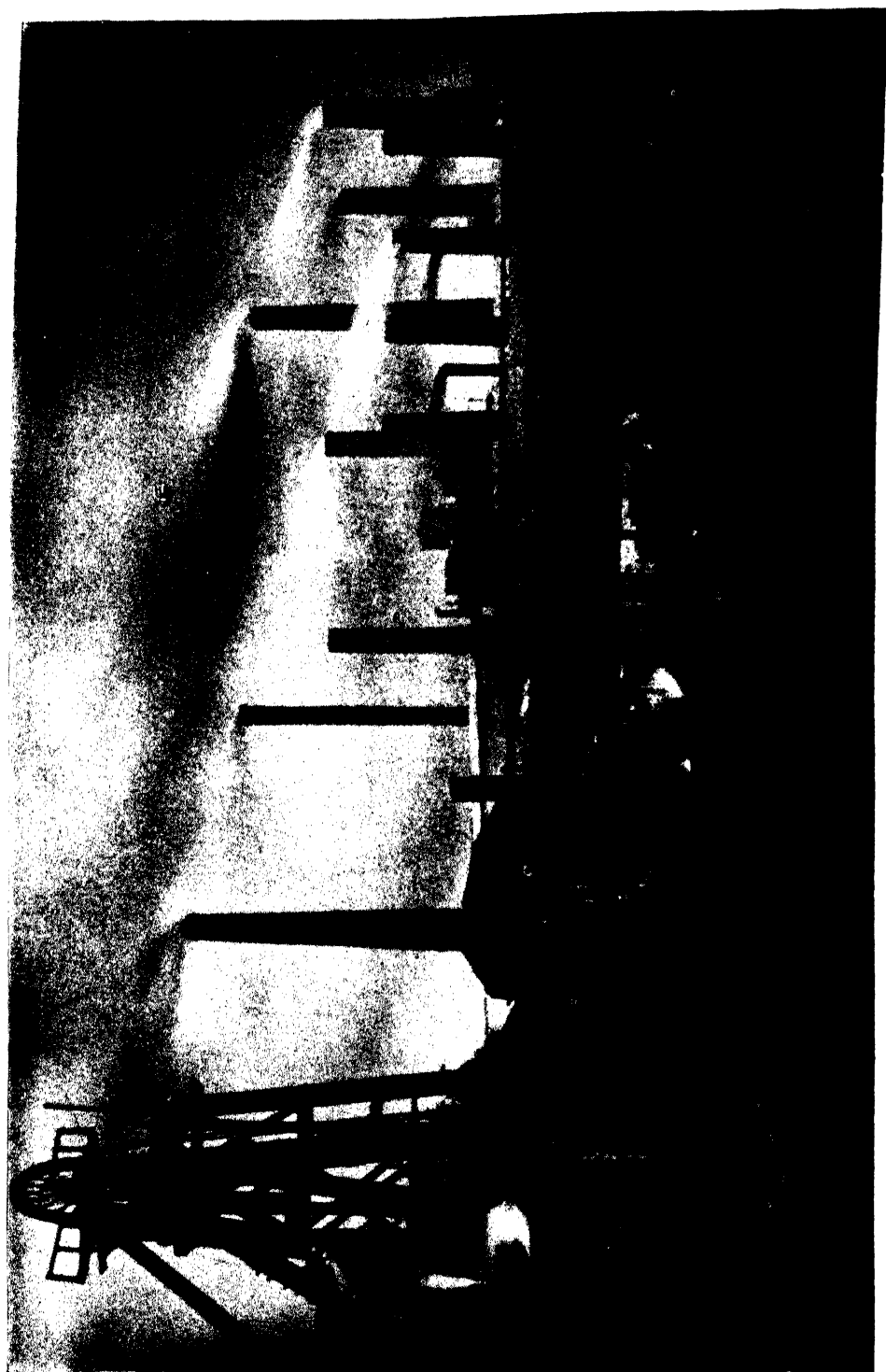
By THE RT. HON. RAMSAY MACDONALD, P.C., LL.D., M.P.

"It has its programmes of material demands, it deals with economic things, with the affairs of towns and states; but beneath them, justifying them, the common life of them, are thought and emotions and assumptions and axioms which presuppose the truth of the religious view of the ends of creation and the destiny of man."

FROM the Christian point of view, there are two main streams of the Labour movement in the world, one best studied in the Socialism of the Continent of Europe, and the other in the similar movement in Great Britain.

Continental Socialism arose in countries where the Church had alienated, for one reason or another, the allegiance of the working classes and the Liberal sections of the community. Progressive thought ran in channels away from the Church, sometimes antagonistic, but sometimes only indifferent, to it. The Socialist movement was hostile and regarded the Church (which stood for Christianity) as being an ally of those interests and thoughts which it set itself to destroy and supplant. It received its inspiration from science, which was then sceptical and self-sufficing, and it founded itself upon what was called "Economic Determinism," the doctrine defined by Marx in these words: "The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life." Hence it is that the history of Continental Socialism, both on its political and its philosophical side, has been a long conflict with the Church. Now and again Churchmen, both Catholic and Protestant, have seen beneath the forms of Socialist expression the image of the Christian ethic, and the Church itself, in organizing its forces to repel Socialism, has had to reject the purely individualistic and economic theory of the State, and in some parts of Europe





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to-day its political organization is represented in Parliaments under the name of "Christian Socialist." No reconciliation between the ecclesiastic powers and the Labour forces has taken place, however, and in most places the Social Democrat and the Christian Socialist are in sharp conflict. An impartial inquirer will not put down this conflict to the nature of the Socialist creed, so much as to the divorce between the Church and the workers which has taken place for other reasons. Continental Socialism did not make men oppose the Church; they were opposed to the Church before they were Socialists.

The British movement arose out of other conditions, and the history of its relations with the Church follows different lines. The conflict between life and property goes far back into our history, and whenever it appeared it never failed to enlist the sympathy of some part of organized Christianity. Our peasant revolts had their John Balls; the first beginnings of an oppressive plutocratic and materialist society had their Sir Thomas Mores; still later developments of capitalism were attended by the growth of small single-minded and democratic Christian communions; the Chartists brought forth the Christian Socialists as allies and champions, even if they were also critics. Thus, when the modern Labour movement began, its roots were in a historical soil enriched for centuries by the sacrifices, the efforts, and the traditions of Christian leaders. It was as natural for the British movement to draw inspiration and guidance from the Christian ethic as it was for the Continental movement to pass that by and go to the philosophy and science which dominated thought at the middle of last century, mainly Hegelianism and Darwinism.

During the seventh and eighth decades of the nineteenth century, the first shoots of the present phase of our Labour and Socialist movement appeared above ground. A good many different societies then came into existence, each heralding new social conceptions and groping for more light. Amongst them there were several avowedly Christian ones, and one of the very first papers published to voice the new social creeds was called "The Christian Socialist," after Charles Kingsley's paper of that name. It is important to emphasize that these Christian movements sprang spontaneously from the Christian life and were not subsections of a political or social movement that had already been established. They were Christianity finding an

expression in forms of social justice, not a propaganda of forms of social utopianism seeking a buttress from the Christian faith. They were, indeed, a harvest of the historical Christian Socialist movement, the leaves and stalks of which had withered and had fallen to the ground, but the roots of which had never died. Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley were represented by men like the saintly Bishop Westcott, the genial Canon Scott Holland, and the faithful Stewart Headlam, and in the Church were an able and active body of priests and laymen who believed with J. M. Ludlow, that "a nation ruling itself as one man, in wisdom and righteousness, beneath the eye of God," was democracy, and that "the truest democracy appears to me to be—Socialism."

The early history of the Church, when to the Christian all the world was young and the light of the new revelation lay over his heaven and earth in virgin purity, was to these men a more convincing thesis than any written by Marx or Engels. In the morning of Christian history no one, neither friend nor foe, doubted the social and political implications of the faith. The little communist experiment in Jerusalem was not an extraneous ornament upon the faith; it was essentially of it. Dr. Rauschenbusch, in his "Christianity and the Social Crisis," showed how the new spiritual outlook "unfettered the political hopes of the crowd," and one of the Christian Socialist leaders of our own time, the Rev. C. L. Marson, wrote more fully and precisely in one of their publications (1894): "Where the Christian faith is merely latent, there the Socialism is less explicit. When the writer is unsound in his orthodoxy, then he is almost sure to favour some form of individualist law or possession." The Patristic writers show no hesitation in demanding that social economics should conform to Christian ethic and in defining that ethic as requiring that the spiritual needs of man cannot be satisfied in a society based upon the power of property. Society was constituted very differently then from now. It had not become complicated by the devices of man. It was easier to do good spontaneously, and moral revelations could far more freely issue directly in action. Man's heart and soul had not been imprisoned in a vast materialist network. So the spontaneous offerings of love and charity could easily be regarded by men as the methods and the structure of a Christian social order to be founded at once. Whilst that may be so, the Church has never abandoned

the sentiments which were in the hearts of the Fathers when they wrote and spoke, expounded and exhorted, and whenever our Christian faith is shaken up and vitalized by some wind passing over the hearts of men, the Social doctrines of the Fathers revive because they belong as much to the Christian life as do the more formal creeds and confessions of faith.

This was the movement in the Church which partly created and was partly created by the more secular upstirring which has been going on for over a generation.

The scattered sentiments and activities which marked that upstirring, especially since the London Dock Strike of 1889, were gathered together at a conference in Bradford in 1893 when the Independent Labour Party was formed to propagate a Socialism richer and wider in its appeal and more in keeping with British traditions than the Continental variety that was being actively but ineffectively pushed by the Social Democratic Federation founded a few years earlier. In 1900 the Labour Representation Committee was founded, representative of our Trade Unions and the various Socialist Societies, to build up a political party upon Socialist lines, though not at first consciously and definitely Socialist, independently of existing political parties. Six years later the Committee changed its name to the Labour Party, so as to correspond with its growth during that time, and in 1918 it broadened its constitution so as to admit to membership persons of any social or industrial class who agreed with its principles and policy.

What has been the relation between the Church and this Party since its beginnings in 1893?

The British Socialist Party has never put the same stress on economic dogma that the orthodox Marxians did. It has had its economic dogmas and its views upon historical evolution by which it has been consistently guided, but its grand final claim has been upon other grounds. Carlyle expressed it very well in "Past and Present": "One thing I know: Never on this earth was the relation of man to man long carried on by Cash-payment alone. If at any time a philosophy of Laissez-faire, Competition, and Supply and Demand start up as the exponent of human relations, expect that it will soon end." Here in germ is the belief of all Socialists, but there are different avenues of approach to it, different systems of thought in which to enshrine it, different recruitments of ideas and con-

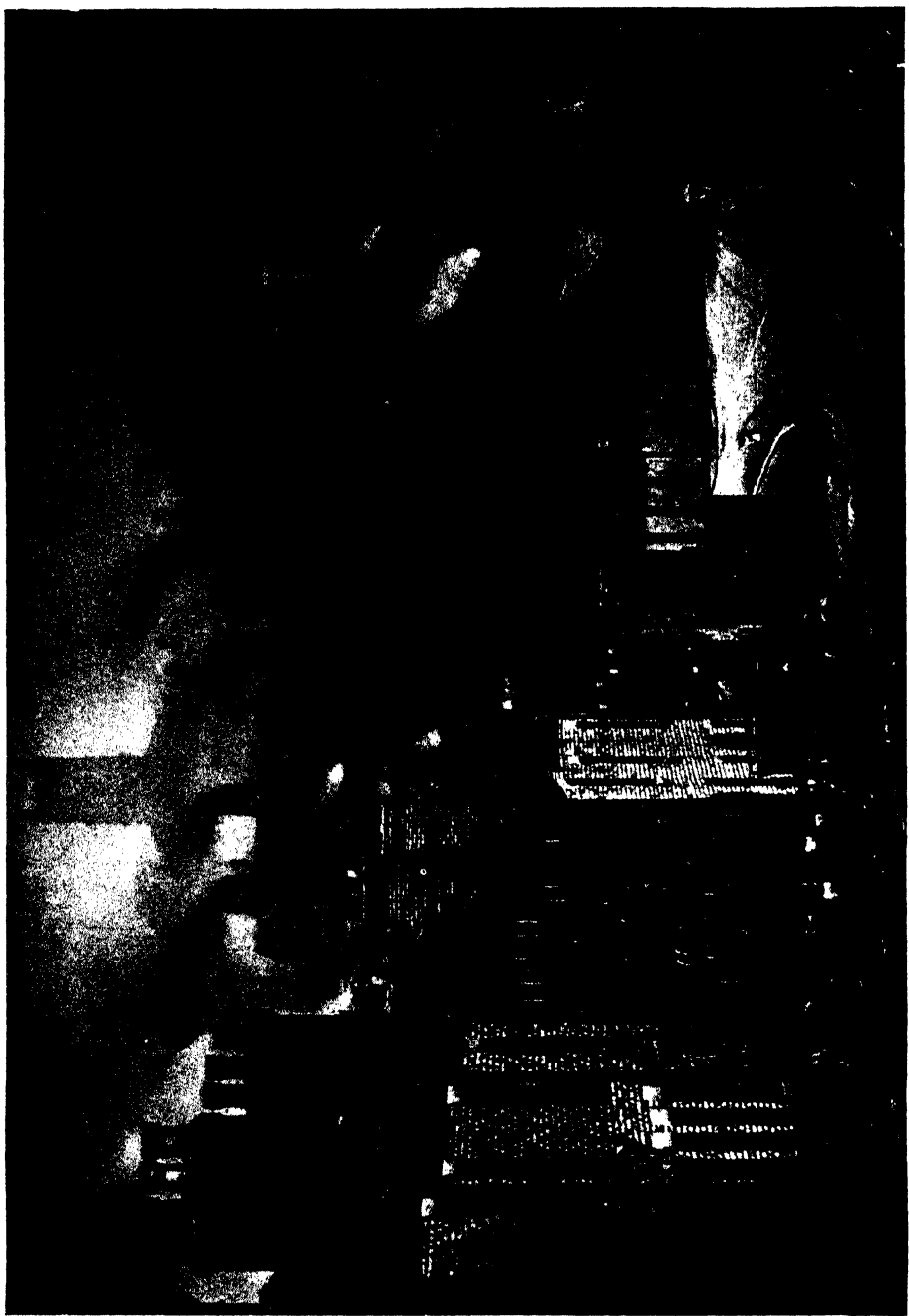
sideration for its exposition and defence. Marx wrote a bulky and laborious study in the economics of Capital in a historical setting; the British Labour movement took its stand upon human ethics. The one proved that the mechanism of Capitalism could not work and would bring some form of revolution in the process of which mankind would lose its chains; the other proved that Capitalism involved a daily crucifixion of human right and would end by the founding of a new order by the creative power of an awakened moral sense and an enlightened intelligence. Bishop Westcott, with instinctive accuracy, guided by the critical judgment of his Christian faith, put the Labour Party view of Socialism in a sentence: "Individualism and Socialism correspond with different views of humanity."

The Labour movement is in essence a protest against materialism as the dominating and sovereign factor in life, and it exists for the double purpose of defending Society against that domination and of creating within Society a will to transform itself into a moral unity. In all human affairs crudeness and enmity creep in and conflicts and differences tend to be hardened, and both sides become shortsighted as they concentrate upon immediate issues. The day-to-day history of Labour shows this weakness, but the movement can rightly claim to be judged by its essential spirit and not only by the incidents of its conflicts. When so judged movements are helped to keep their souls—provided they have souls—and the sections of the Church that have seen in the Labour movement an embodiment of Christian ethics have not only kept alive the doctrine that Christ meant that His gospel and His life should have a direct application in human conduct, and that Christian conduct should be a unified whole and be consistent throughout, but they have also helped the Labour movement to keep its human ideals clear of the passionate fights in which it has been forced to engage sometimes with narrow and concentrated vision.

Since it came into the world on "that midnight clear," the Christian faith has always been at war with every attempt to control life by property and to subordinate human moral rights to the conveniences and advantages of economic factors. It has always discriminated between the wealth which is life and the wealth which is things. Its treasures have not been what the moth and the rust corrupt, but love, justice, peace. The Gospels rumble with thunders



STEE.



THE POTTERIES.

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against those who hold distinction and power by reason of wealth; usury, monopoly, profiteering stand perpetually in a pillory in the writings of every great Christian apostle. When, within the last century and a half, the enormous development of mechanical skill and the long strides taken in knowledge, which subdued nature to men's control, led to the factory system and the industrial and economic revolutions that came in its train, it seemed as though man was imprisoned in the iron cage of his own material power. The feeble but nevertheless divine revolt of a few shining spirits against this imprisonment led to repression and reaction. To read of the early revolt of Labour is to dwell in a quaint land, where men doomed to be baffled for a time sought to pay homage to some infinite compelling Power who gave the vision but left poor man to stumble and muddle along his own way. These men laid down the doctrine that neither nation nor class could flourish on human misery. They may have smashed machines, they may have burned hayricks, they may have plotted assassination, but the emotions from which our hates come were not the emotions which made them revolt and plan these things. These emotions related to the sense of unconditioned human right which men have because they appreciate spiritual values and associate them with themselves. So, whilst these conflicts were going on, men looking upon them through a clear atmosphere saw the spirit behind them and the truths they were seeking to enforce. Carlyle growled about them; Mrs. Gaskell dramatized them; Shaftesbury and the Christian Socialists gave them a home in Christianity.

The movement of defence and reconstruction followed two natural lines: an industrial organization of the workers to repel capitalist encroachments and to secure a larger share in the material gains of the new industrial order—the Trade Union movement—and a political organization designed to transform the political and the industrial state into a co-operative organization, whose end would be general well-being by means of individual service—the Socialist and Labour movement. From its very beginning, the British Labour movement was well founded on its moral claims. It concentrated its attack on poverty in all its forms—poverty of the body, poverty of the mind, poverty of the soul. It raised the question of the condition of the people as the central concern of politics. The hard lot of the unemployed, then left without any assistance

except what the Poor Law gave them, received the concentrated attention of the Party, but its propagandists always made it clear that the unemployed were but types of the failure of the social system to provide for human needs. The prevailing opinion of the time was that the political organ of the state had nothing to do with the problem of unemployment—that that belonged to the economic organ whose working was outside the scope of legislative concern. That view was overwhelming when Mr. Keir Hardie first raised the question of unemployment in the House of Commons in 1893. In breaking down that view and in widening the sphere of the state so as to include a care for workmen as such, the Party naturally roused the sympathy of and received much support from sections of the Church. When the famous march of the unemployed from Leicester to London started in 1905, it was headed by a clergyman of the Church of England who is now a Canon of Westminster Abbey. In the other details of capitalist failure which the Party attacked, emphasis was invariably laid upon the human crucifixion involved. The Party made politics glow with human feeling. It made the problems of firesides, kitchen tables, and cupboards the inspiration of its political crusade. A section of the Conservative Party, inspired by Disraeli, was already interested in the problem of the "Two Nations," but it had no political and economic programme of reform. It had sympathy and charity. But here, at last, was a Party that not only sympathized but explained, and not only explained but offered a remedial policy. Christianity could not be deaf or disinterested.

If that was the nature of its programme, the statement of its fundamental principles struck the same note. Its Socialism has been defined in words which show not only its economic and social purpose but its ethical inspiration. "Capitalism," it said, "organized human beings for economic and materialist ends; Socialism seeks to organize economic and materialist forces for human ends." The conception upon which its Socialism is built is that the spiritual things of life should be sovereign; that no purely economic organization can last which means the domination of its owners over the society in which it is; that sooner or later it will lead to the sacrifice of those who are not owners; that the community will first of all accept moral responsibilities for the outcasts of the system—the unemployed, the pauper—and that in the end the failures of such a machine to pro-

vide adequate sustenance and security, or sufficient motive for production, will compel Society to organize itself to control its own economic machinery so as to be able to appeal to the moral sense of the workers and to protect the common interest against exploitation. The Socialist conception of co-ordination and co-operation so that social wealth and capital may be used by the organic whole to contribute to the well-being of that whole and prevent exploitation, was heralded by many Christians as a mode of translating into actual social fact the social ethics of Christianity. In the work of devising how these truths can be embodied in practical programmes so that they may be given form and organization, many difficulties may be encountered, and there will be room for considerable differences of opinion, but the Labour movement that is inspired by Socialism is firm upon the stand it takes that a purely economic society like that of Capitalism cannot produce moral results and can never make an effective moral appeal. A society capable of doing these things must have morality at its foundations.

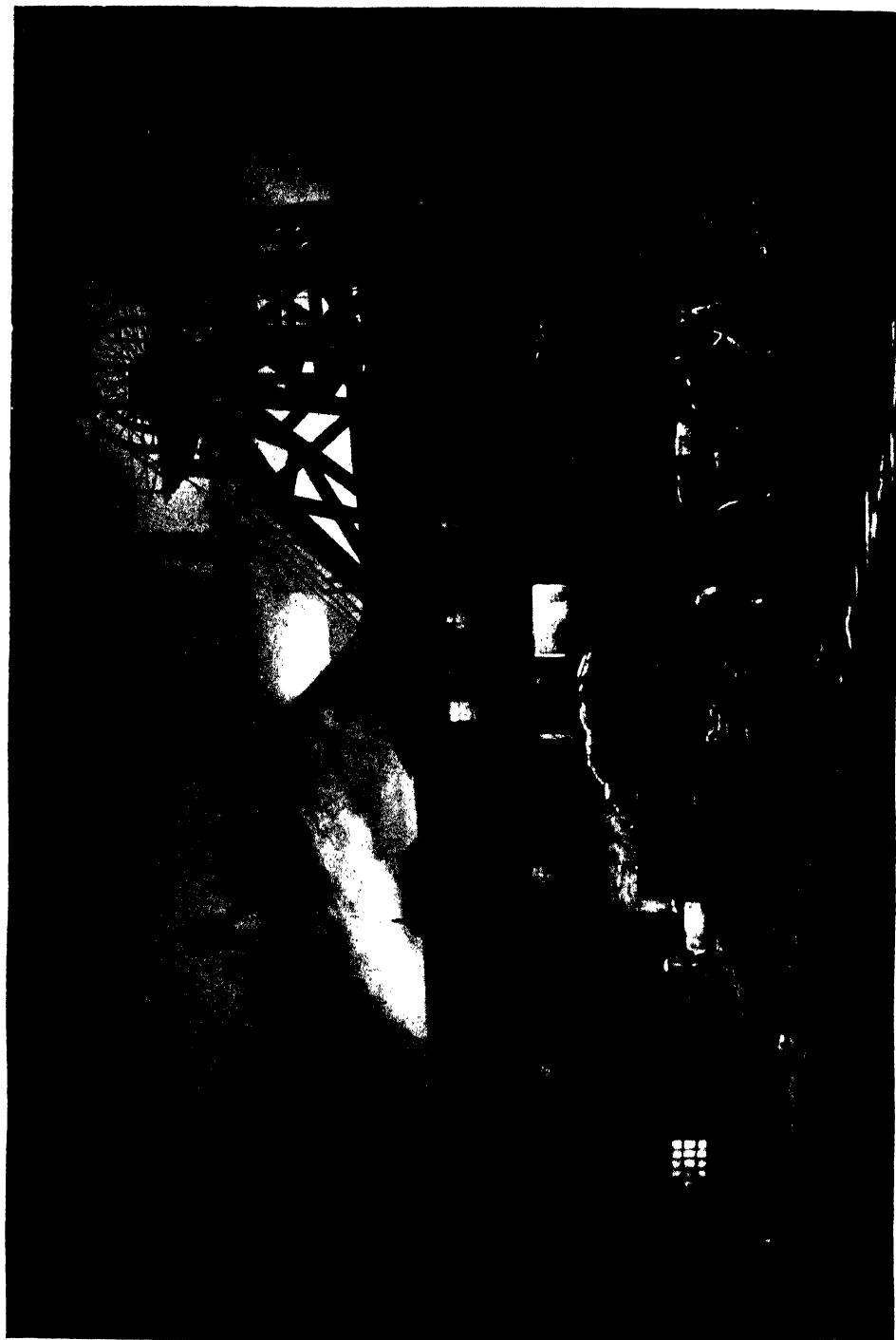
On two other important matters our Labour movement joins up with the Christian conscience—on property and individuality. The Christian view of property is that it must be gained by, and must represent, service. That he should take who has the power and that he should keep who can has no sanction in the Gospels, in the Fathers, nor in the Christian conscience. Even the economic justification of expediency in relation to the material needs of existing Society is incomplete for Christian standards. The property that is essential for the liberty and development of personality has always been defended by the Christian ethic, and has always been vindicated by the Labour movement. "Property is necessary for individual liberty, though, in the forms of vast accumulation and of social power, it may be misused so as to be a tyranny over individuals, limiting both their rights of thought and of action which they conscientiously believe to be good. In its latter form, Socialism is in antagonism to it." That is part of the Socialist professed creed. In accordance with that, and limited by the limitations of that statement, the Labour movement believes that those forms of property which in a materialist society can be used to exploit the community and destroy individuality, should be held and controlled by organs representative of the community. In this position the Labour movement finds itself alongside the Christian ethic when it

seeks to mould social organization so that it may conform to spiritual truth and requirement.

As regards individuality, the Socialist view is that it can be free only in a Society which is a moral unity, that it is not capable of an absolute definition but is conditioned by social circumstances, that in any event it can exist only in a truncated form in a Society divided into economic classes. Furthermore, as regards the family, that essential to individuality as well as the foundation of all sound social structure, the Socialist has been insistent that Capitalism tends to destroy it because it has no economic need for it, and brings forth a formidable array of facts and experiences to prove his point.

This common ground, shared by the spiritual and the political movements, is shown if the personnel of the political movement is surveyed. When the political movement was started, to what type of recruit did it appeal?

In Great Britain Christianity has never been completely officialized. In its churches it has always retained in some measure (though in some churches far more than in others) the democratic spirit. The lines between the altar or pulpit and the pew have always been vague, and the priesthood has never been wholly differentiated off from the body of the communion. In our great industrial districts the Christian life and energy has been maintained by the activities of the layman—the Sunday School teacher, the lay preacher, the elder—and there were thousands of these working hard all the week to make the riches that perish and devoting their Sundays to preaching and teaching the Word. They were fine types of what inspired Carlyle to write: “Unspeakably touching is it, however, when I find both dignities united, and he that must toil outwardly for the lowest of man’s wants is also toiling inwardly for the highest. Sublimier in this world know I nothing than a Peasant Saint, could such now anywhere be met with. Such a one will take thee back to Nazareth itself.” The Peasant Saint was no stranger in the valleys of Wales, the coalfields of Durham, the mean streets of Midland towns, the hills of Scotland, towards the end of the nineteenth century, when the Labour movement was arising and evangelical fervour and Non-conformist zeal were keeping the Church alive in the hearts of the masses. These men had a profound influence for good on their neighbourhood; they gave spirit and sincerity to their churches. The appeal of the Labour movement went straight to their hearts,



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THE RT. HON. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.



M. EDOUARD HERRIOT

and it was they who formed its nucleus. This has always happened in Great Britain. In the time of the Chartists, Labour Churches were formed, and men were brought together to hear the Christian faith taught in terms of modern industrial conditions. It was as when the devout painters of mediæval times depicted the apostles, the Madonna, and the Master in the likeness and dresses of the people they knew. So, when the new political movement began, a Labour Church was formed and rapidly spread. There were forms of service in some, prayers, a hymn book. In places like Bradford, Leicester and Birmingham this lasted for a good many years, and gave spirit to the whole movement. This was perhaps suited only to the apostolic beginnings. As time went on and the scores of adherents became hundreds and the hundreds thousands it was not easy to retain the forms of devotion, but to this day I often catch up in the atmosphere of vast meetings the spirit of the old Labour Church. The economic conflict of the movement in time brought resentment amongst the wealthier occupants of pews, and some antagonisms between us and the churches and chapels grew up. A large proportion of the young men entering the ministry were with us; our views received much consideration in the theological schools and colleges; that is still true. But in ecclesiastical as in other organizations the power of wealth and its social consequences is great, and the apostolic years are now past. A mishandling of the young men who see visions by the older ones who see the gathering night has brought some deplorable and unnecessary estrangements, but the Christian appeal still comes from our platforms and stirs the hearts and wins the allegiance of crowded halls. The welcome is there as strong as ever, even when it is not given in the forms and formulæ of traditional devotion.

Three forms of the activity of the Christian spirit have marked this generation in Great Britain. The war, like a glacier, has rubbed away or thinned out some of the habits and interests which were most worthy, but these three activities remain, even if some are sadly impaired. First there were the Social Settlements, inspired by Christian sentiments, that were planted in those dull, dreary, overworked and overcrowded areas, not primarily to give charitable help or to do good in a spirit of superior self-esteem, but to bring spiritual energy and a sense of human co-operation into their surroundings. The best type of these settlements was Mansfield House, the Con-

gregational Settlement in Canning Town, London. They were not political and they were not party, but inevitably and in the very nature of things, in obedience to the law that like seeks the companionship of like, these places were fertile recruiting grounds for Labour. They, like the first gathering of Christians, "unfettered the political hopes of the crowd." They produced an awakened man whose spiritual and human impulses led him to the Labour movement. The sermons preached there on Sunday upon the simple affections and beauties of the Gospels in language which was understood by the people, on Monday were found again in the arguments and the appeals delivered from some outside platform held by Labour and Socialist speakers. There were comparatively few of them, but their influence in creating spirit was considerable.

Then there were the Brotherhoods and the Pleasant Sunday Afternoons, which were held in most Nonconformist churches and brought scores of thousands of people together during the years when the Labour movement was being formed. The purpose of these meetings was to create and sustain the religious mind in social activity. They had book clubs, friendly societies, recreation meetings associated with them, and when members were sick or in trouble they were visited. Here again was a nursery for the politics of human fellowship and social justice. Personal good conduct in relation to others was bound to have a political affinity, and that was formed in the Labour Party and Socialist movement generally. Moreover, the hymns sung with fine fervour and moving volume at these services were of a kind that created the psychology of social idealism and were the same in many instances as those sung at the Labour Churches. It ought also to be mentioned as a sign of what was going on that at one of the settlements in the south of London a Labour Religious Week was held every year, at which Labour leaders were the speakers, and also that, in connexion with its international work, the Brotherhood sent Mr. Keir Hardie to Germany and elsewhere to tell the Continental Trade Unionists and Socialists how deeply the British movement drank refreshing draughts from the springs of religion.

The Adult Schools were originally part of Quaker activities. Started at a time when elementary education was scanty, to teach adults the most elementary requirements of knowledge, they grew in time to be classes and meetings for the study of the Bible and the

spread of religious culture of the widest kind. The men who attended them were drawn mainly from the working classes, and the meetings, held generally about eight o'clock every Sunday morning by the hundred all over the country but particularly in great industrial centres like Birmingham and Leicester, attracted the very best type of artisans. In some places they acquired habitations for themselves which were run as clubs, where in addition to ordinary recreations there were dramatic societies, literary circles, rambling fellowships. Country homes were founded, and a network of social and cultural activities was kept up. Here, too, the fine type of intellectual mind with human interests contributed largely to both the personnel and the spirit of the Labour movement, and that splendid collection of spiritual songs made by the schools and entitled "The Fellowship Song Book" was used at political meetings where the audiences sang.

Such were the sources of our Labour movement in Great Britain. The Independent Labour Party which was the active nucleus, the propagandist organ, the instrument used by the founders and the leaders of the movement, never had in these days a membership of more than 30,000. With such a comparatively small body the wells of inspiration could be kept pretty pure. What these wells were was not infrequently the subject of keen discussions, especially in the journal called "The Clarion," which was the personal organ of Mr. Blatchford. There Haeckelism, Determinism, and such-like topics were frequently discussed, and a materialist ethic was expounded. Though the discussions were conducted on humane platforms, their effect was undoubtedly to alienate to a certain small extent Christian sympathizers. Christian leaders who were anti-Socialist used their opportunities, and the cry that Socialism was atheism had volume given to it. Some of the Churches were disturbed and looked askance at Socialists, with the result that in turn Socialists were estranged from them. But the religious spirit was never removed from the inspiration of the Independent Labour Party. I have heard its leaders, both national and local, described in scorn as "teetotal lay-preachers." Of most of them it could be said that they were men and women of strenuous thought and good living. Such were the apostles.

When the Labour Party grew and its thousands became millions, when it became powerful in the House of Commons and had to study

and pursue the ordinary tactics of winning and keeping seats, perhaps one could no longer see the pure waters of the original source running in its channels. All kinds of tributary waters are there, as is the case with the Liberal and the Tory Parties. But two things are still true of the Party. Socialism of the British type, catholic and essentially moral, is its inspiration; the speeches delivered from its platforms still strike the old moral and humane note as firmly as ever. It deals with the spirit of men, as I have so often heard, men's bodies, men's minds, men's souls—man in his tripartite existence. It has its programmes of material demands, it deals with economic things, with the affairs of towns and states; but beneath them, justifying them, the common life of them, are thought and emotions and assumptions and axioms which presuppose the truth of the religious view of the ends of creation and the destiny of man. When the Labour Party became the official opposition in the House of Commons in 1923 some hundreds of clergymen of the Church of England signed a memorial of congratulation to it, and a great proportion of the younger Nonconformist ministers make no secret of their adherence to it as citizens.



BOOK III

INTERNATIONAL RELATION- SHIPS AND THE FUTURE

Since the nation is the largest organized community, a theory has long been traditional that treats the nation as an "end in itself," to be controlled only by rules of its own making. But such a principle is fundamentally inconsistent with Christianity, and the catastrophe of the World War has brought home to everyone the folly of national irresponsibility. A true Christian civilization must suppose a Christian internationalism; the only problem is the best method of its creation.

Chapter XIII. EUROPEAN NATIONS AND CHRIS-
TIAN STATESMANSHIP

XIV. THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH
AND CHRISTIAN STATESMANSHIP

XV. THE UNITED STATES AND CHRIS-
TIAN STATESMANSHIP

XVI THE LAW OF NATIONS

CHAPTER XIII

EUROPEAN NATIONS AND CHRISTIAN STATESMANSHIP

BY BISHOP CHARLES H. BRENT, D.D., LL.D.

"It is on the religious life that nations repose. Because divinity was divided, humanity had been divided likewise; the doctrine of the unity of God now enforced the unity of man, who had been created in His image. The first lesson of Christianity was love, a love that was to join in one body those whom suspicion and prejudice and pride of race had hitherto kept apart."—BRYCE.

THE web of life is close woven and seamless. The examination, which this chapter attempts to make, of separate threads or a given section apart from the whole, borders on the impossible. You cannot know all that is in the lark's song without exploring the music of the spheres. A comprehensive grasp of the whole flower involves the knowledge of the inmost mind of God. The most that a student can do is to recognize frankly his limitations and make his little adventure accordingly, realizing that when he has arrived at the outside edge of his subject it trails off into a myriad contacts and implications beyond his ken. Whatever conclusions are reached, they are relative to the immensity of truth lying beyond that little fragment which has been considered. There can be no final reliance on departmental knowledge. The wisest man is as a musician who tries to play on a piano all the notes of which are dumb but those of a single octave. Whatever music he may produce in an endeavour to play Mozart will be far removed from the composition of the Master.

Granted all this, there is a fact which not merely justifies the undertaking but also guarantees value in studying any given aspect or department of life. The fact is Jesus Christ. He is the revelation of the reason and purpose lying behind all creation, unifying its complexity and explaining its mystery. He is the proclamation of both the mind and the heart of God. It is He who explains the individual and who explains the group of which the individual is

a unit. With Him as the key we approach the whole of society as it is, all of it capable of being ultimately explained and unified by and in Him. Progress is determined by the measure of His reason, His way and His purpose, discoverable in human groups, the most important of which, after the family, is the nation.

There is no mass, however bulky, no fragment however minute, that does not discover itself in Him. He illumines every man and every work of man from the social circumstances created because of the gregarious instinct of human life to the last flight of philosophy and the last discovery of science. But most of all is this true as applied to the nation and to that for which the nation exists—the brotherhood of mankind.

It were folly to think of mankind in terms of brotherhood were brotherhood a human theory, for history, which is collective experience, has hitherto disclosed the nation in actual operation as viewing mankind in terms of self-interest instead of considering itself in terms of mankind. Hence disputes and wars. Brotherhood is based, however, on the revelation of God as Father of the human race without distinction or preference of this nation over that or of this race over that. He is a respecter neither of persons nor of nations. Seeming preference, as in the case of the Jews, was mistaken for actual preference, whereas the divine selection of this one nation with its peculiar bent towards religion was meant to be both illustrative of God's mind towards all nations alike and also a means to the universal recognition of that mind. God's purpose is declared beyond dispute in the fact that He is our Father—the commonest, most frequent and widespread address to Him—and that we are His children. The children of a common father form a common family.

It was the absence of this belief that was responsible for the flaws in the substance and setting of the Covenant of the League of Nations and kept it from being a Magna Carta of universal brotherhood. At the beginning of the proceedings of the Versailles Conference efforts were made to secure the recognition of God's Fatherhood by common worship at its opening session and by incorporating some frank statement in the Treaty that the signatories were making no blind experiment in the direction of peace, but that they were set on working out God's purpose of brotherhood. But the situation would not stand the strain of so searching a test for either proposal.

The world of Christians is not yet quite clear as to how far they can trust the practicability of the truth as revealed in Jesus Christ. A man of affairs shies at the suggestion that the next step for Christians to take is the application to the business world of to-day of the truths and principles by which Jesus Christ lived His workaday life. The idea evokes the exclamation: "That would be a declaration of war!" Just so: because the purpose and the way of Jesus Christ are hostile to much that is characteristic of the thought and activity of modern commerce.

The political world is in like case. It is afraid of what the way and the purpose of Jesus Christ would do with it. This is true alike in countries where there is a union of Church and State and where there is not. In neither instance has it yet been made clear that, whatever the terms of relationship, it strikes deep into the mode and end of political life. It connotes not the bald recognition of a God, but in countries where Christianity is the dominant religion the definite application of Christian ethics to every problem of State and nation. In countries where there has been a separation of Church and State, as in the United States of America, that separation does not mean divorce. It rather stands for the release of each from the danger of an embarrassing embrace that would hamper both were it allowed. It means untrammelled intimacy between religion and the nation. It is in no wise a manifesto proclaiming a moral or religious holiday for politics and politicians, for diplomats or diplomacy. Indeed, if there is any one sphere more than another where the Christian purpose and way will count it is here. The astonishment caused by a politician injecting Christian principle into a national legislature on a subject of international moment was great enough to echo round the world and be registered in literature. When a British Under-Secretary for Air remarked that the Sermon on the Mount (that is, the truths and principles by which Jesus Christ lived, and then laid upon the conscience of all His followers) was the solution of armament problems, he drew forth the ejaculation, "Good God, sir! if we are to rely for our air security on the Sermon on the Mount, all I can say is 'God help us!'" On the other hand, the necessity for corporate life to be governed by an ethical code is signaled by the fact that some 800 organizations in the United States have adopted each its own code, often based upon the Sermon on the Mount.

When we approach international relations the beneficent claim of Christ is laid upon the nations with no abatement. The truths and principles which governed His least relationships also governed His greatest. So it ought not to be a matter for amazement and dissent when these truths and principles are used as the key to international problems. However remote general assent to this may be, the Christian cannot debase the universal currency of the highest Christian ethic by filing away its sharp, incisive edge. A great statesman must first be a great Christian and a great prophet.

The task which faces us here is to discover what of Christ there is, consciously or unconsciously, in the nations of Europe in their own distinctive grouping and in their relations to one another. Only in so far as nations are moved in their domestic life by Christian motives and are shaping their action by the Christian way of doing things can they contribute to the Christian character of diplomacy and foreign relations.

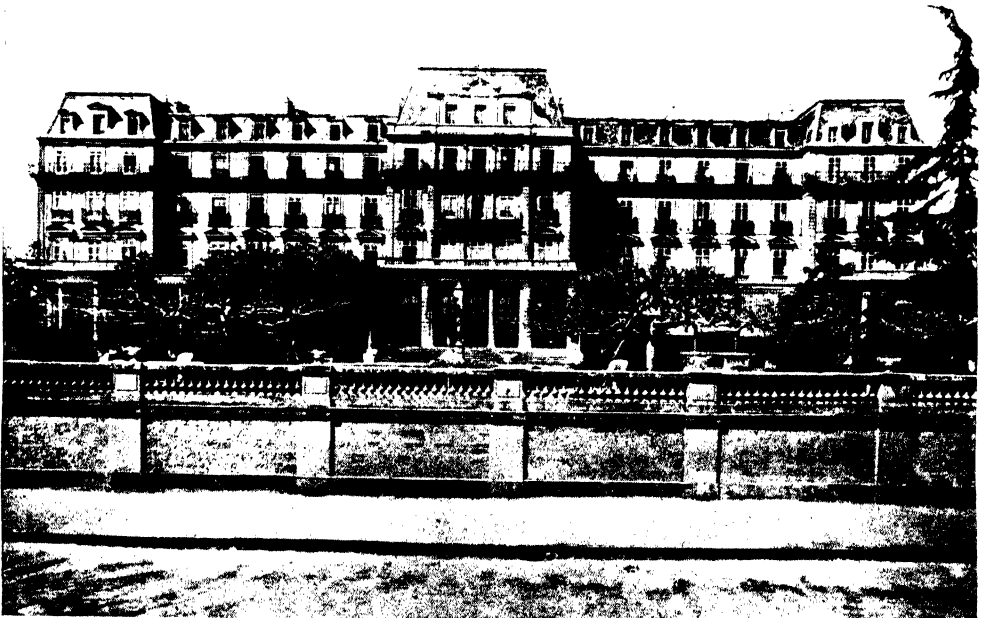
Thus far no State and no Nation has counted the Kingdom of Heaven the pearl of great price or the treasure hid in a field which Christ holds it to be. Consequently, no sustained effort to secure it at all hazards has been made. The Kingdom of God stands first in the estimate of no cabinet or government in the world, though there have been and are individual Christian statesmen. The first Christian axiom for international relations is that each nation should view the concerns of its neighbour with solicitude equal to that with which it views its own. This has never been done and no concerted endeavour has been kept in view as possible until now. The chief reason is that it has not been held practicable—which is the worst arraignment of Christian truth that can be made. The metes and bounds of Christian responsibility frequently are severely set by those who have selfish interests of their own which they wish to protect against depletion or injury. It is a common tendency to refuse recognition to the paramount claims of Christian principle in some one department of life. The issue now is sharp in the realm of the political. Has a citizen the right to establish an ethic which runs counter to the expressed mind of the State? The answer is that the purpose and the way of Christ are final, and that the Christian can no more burn incense to the modern State than he



VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD.



WOODROW WILSON.



THE PALACE OF THE NATIONS AT GENEVA.



M. BENES.



JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS.

could to the ancient Cæsar. In other words, let the Christian ethic once be accepted by the entire Christian Church and it must rule the minds and lives of the entire Christian body in every relationship, individual and corporate. Naturally, the last manifestation of the Christian way of life will be in the major groups of men until it includes the nation and dealings between nations. The supreme and all-encompassing charge of Christ was "to make disciples of all nations."

All nations up to the present stand under condemnation in the face of this searching test. In none of them is the Christian motive the dominating motive, in none is politics controlled by Christian ethics. The Kingdom of God is not to national life the pearl of great price. Indeed, it is viewed askance by some as being a doubtful blessing outside a limited area. On the other hand, it is as leaven hidden in a measure of meal. However laggard man has been in his search for the Kingdom, the Kingdom has not been laggard in its search for man. Slowly and relentlessly it makes its way in human affairs. Progress is not even along the whole line. Progress is not evident at all in spots and through periods of time, for progress is not inevitable in that it is a co-operative affair contingent upon human effort just as truly as upon divine. People believe "sufficiently to be influenced, yet not sufficiently to be governed" by Christianity. This is true of Europe as it is true of the United States. If there is any one proof of the Fatherhood of God more convincing than another, it is this amazing patience with human life and the ways of nations as revealed by the history of mankind.

Two of the most encouraging features indicative of progress in modern Europe are the solicitude of all former belligerents over war guilt in the conflict of 1914-18 and the concerted endeavour, increasing yearly in volume and sincerity, in every sphere in which nations have contact, to substitute intelligent co-operation for the unholy rivalries and intrigues which threatened to wreck the world.

War is recognized to be such an enormity that every nation shrinks from being considered a participant in the guilt of having precipitated it. No State as yet has been honest or courageous enough to study the situation without self-favour and frankly to own its measure of responsibility. Disclaimers and the accusation of others, however, bear testimony to the growing conscience that

war as an institution is a crime and an outrage abhorrent to human reason and fatal to human development.

War is being pilloried not only by individual moralists but by the affirmations and deliberate action of nations. When the Armistice of 1918 flung its silence over the thundering line of battle it is safe to say that there was no active participant who would not then and there have cursed war out of existence as futile and brutal had he known how. Lingering fear and suspicion have caused a mild recrudescence of militarism, but a comparison of the collective mind of Europe to-day with that of any period since the days of Grotius marks a change of temper and purpose quite unprecedented. Justinian spoke in response to the universal instinct when he branded war together with slavery as being repugnant to national law. Grotius was as unsparing in his condemnation of war as many a modern pacifist, and he reduced the justifiable causes of war to a minimum. At the same time he proclaimed on Christian grounds, as did Richard Hooker before him, international law as the antidote for war. The national mind of the day not only refused to acquiesce but Grotius became an exile and nearly lost his life for conscience' sake. In mediæval times "it is certain," says Sir Frederick Pollock, "that the Church could not have prevented Christian rulers from making war upon each other, or from appealing to Divine sanction for their opposite causes with an equal appearance of sincerity. The Holy Father himself, as a temporal prince, was often a belligerent, and his adversaries felt no diffidence about invoking their patron saints against him." Even as late as the seventeenth century the idea of a nation having moral attributes was foreign to the civic mind. The Church up to then had done little to attempt to give the nation corporate Christian character. "My Country right or wrong" has been the ruling motto almost up to the present, and it is only now that Grotius is coming into his own. To-day, as the discussion of war guilt testifies, nations accept moral responsibility as being inherent in nationality, and they seek self-justification with passionate vehemence. It is a tribute to the divine in man that all but the brazen reprobate either endeavour to establish their innocence under accusation or, at any rate, to present extenuating circumstances which mitigate guilt. To-day the consciousness of the guilt of war is in the way of becoming a commanding corporate conscience.

II

Disarmament and the elimination of war are given as a promise and set as a goal in some of the earliest documents of the Christian heritage. No less than three outstanding statesmen, who in their day and since have been known as prophets, proclaim without doubt or qualification, that a day will come when the armaments of war will be beaten into the implements of peace and there will be no more war. Modern statesmen may demand war's abolition on the score of social self-preservation. Christian statesmen reach after it as a triumph of righteousness and good-will. The one is an appeal to fear, the other to courage. In any event, the abolition of war and the discovery of its moral substitutes belongs to elementary ethics and is not a counsel of perfection.

In order to prevent confusion of mind let it be stated what is meant in these pages by the term "war." It is as technical a word as any in our vocabulary. There is that which it is not and that which it is. It is not the use of force but the abuse of force. It is an institution, by resort to which brute force, reinforced by guile and cunning, by skill, by the enlistment for destructive use of all the superb triumphs of science, is employed to establish the claims of belligerents. Force may be, nay, must be, the servant of righteousness. But to appeal to force and its myrmidons to decide moral and spiritual values is as perilous as it is mad and inconclusive. Strong as the consciousness of right is as a national military factor, it is not the deciding element in the clash of arms.

There is another feature of war that cannot be too strongly emphasized. Though it may begin as an instrument in the hand of nations, it inevitably ends in chastising all involved, whether victors or vanquished. "War is not like a litigation which ends in the settlement of a particular dispute. Any war, in its settlement, goes far beyond the dispute which brought it about; every war opens up every possible ambition and desire of the victor. Did the World War end merely in deciding the question about the rights of Austria and Serbia in connexion with the murder of the Archduke? Where was the fate of the German Colonies decided—in East Africa and in the Pacific, or on the Western Front?" These pertinent questions are asked in David Hunter Miller's "The Geneva Protocol."

The nations of Europe and other continents which have organized

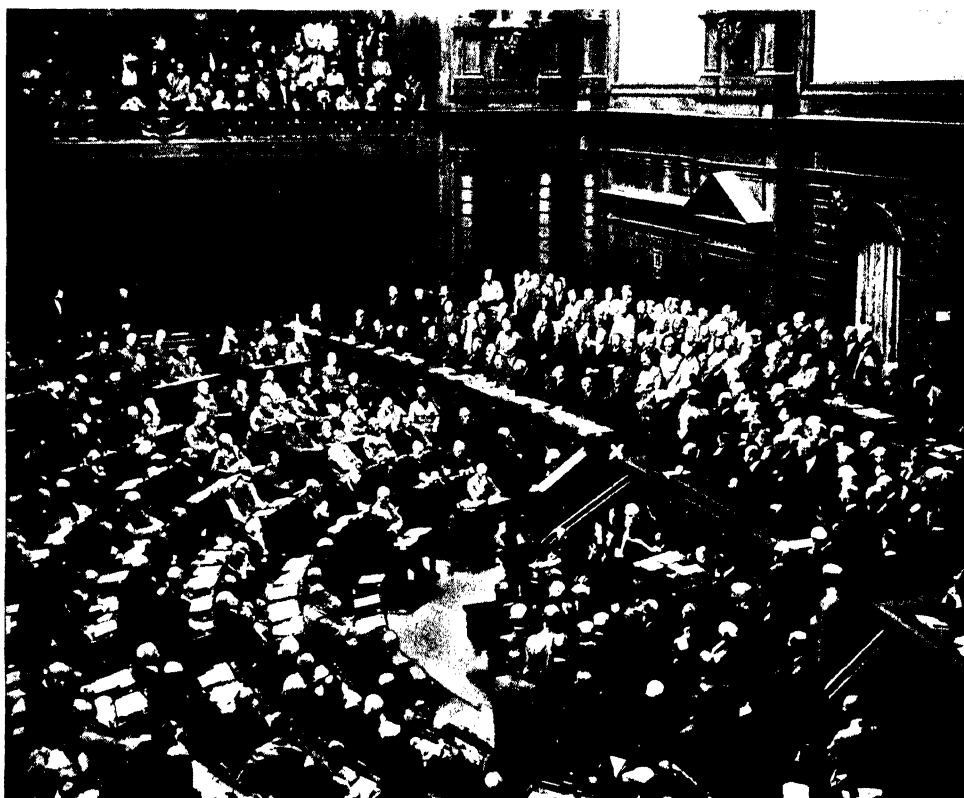
substitutes for war in so doing have put the institution of war under such stern condemnation as will ultimately outlaw war, to use the popular but effective solecism. The Covenant of the League of Nations suffers from the disability of nearness and the wounds of *odium politicum*, which next to *odium theologicum* is the most vicious of weapons. Viewed as an experiment to organize the common desire of all nations into a co-operative substitute for war, it is splendid and daring and Christian. Its defects are analogous to the defects of all great historical documents from the Magna Carta to the Constitution of the United States. Its worth is in its endeavour to anticipate possible misunderstanding and hatred by creating a family table around which all the nations sit in the person of their accredited representatives and deal with common problems by frank and open discussion. The full power of a League of Nations will never be known until all the nations of the world compose the League. Conference has discredited controversy and is rapidly displacing it as a solvent of differences. Conference has been aptly termed "co-operative technique for conflict." Enlightened public opinion of a more universal character than at any moment of history is steadily increasing in its regal authority. The significance of it all is that the principles creative of this new order were formulated into practical shape, a stupendous and magnificent adventure by the side of which the revolt of the barons and the declaration of freedom by the American Colonies pales, by three avowedly Christian statesmen—Woodrow Wilson, Robert Cecil and Jan Smuts. Let their errors be what they may, the realization of the family of nations and the brotherhood of mankind has been made an open vision by what they have done.

Two children of the League have already been born, both of which have Christian characteristics inherited through their parentage—the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. We are to deal here with the Permanent Court solely as illustrating the progress of the Christian ethic in the affairs of nations.

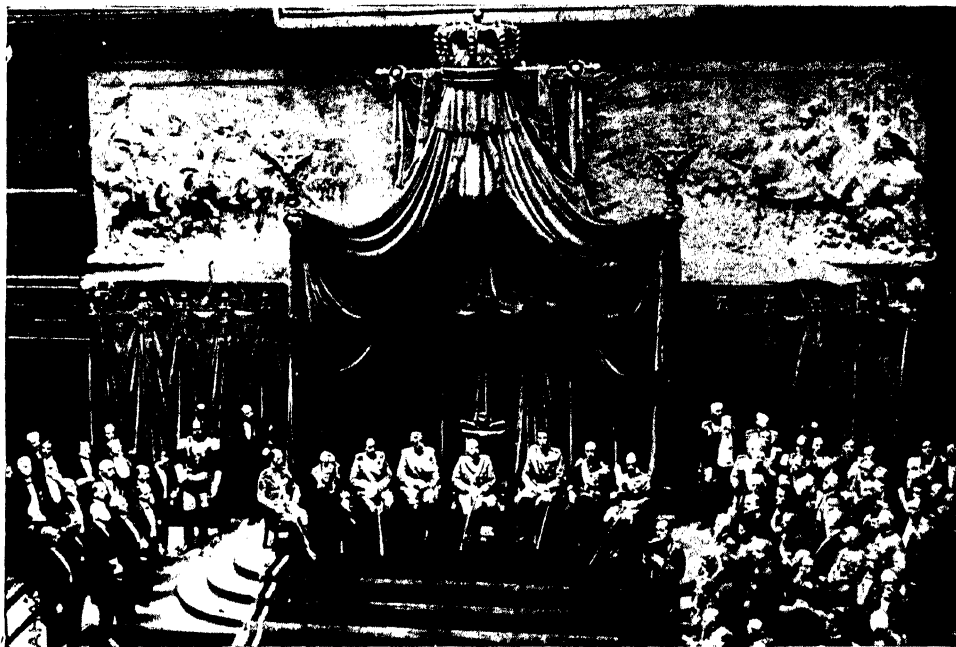
The reason why religious forces are advocates of the Court is because ideals can go without practical embodiment only so long and no longer. The moment has come for experimental embodiment and the fact that the Permanent Court is rudimentary rather than final in its scope and jurisdiction makes for rather than against



GERMANY'S HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, BERLIN.



A TYPICAL SITTING OF THE REICHSTAG, THE PARLIAMENT OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC.



INTERIOR OF THE PALACE OF THE SENATE, ROME.



THE PALACE OF THE SENATE, ROME.

its effectiveness. There is a type of Christian mind which seems to suspect formulated endeavour that falls short of perfection. Surely this is foreign to the temper of Christ and to the adventure of faith which lays hold of the imperfect with the purpose and intent of making it perfect.

The Protocol of Geneva in its present form has not found acceptance among the nations. That, however, is of small moment. It has made a deposit which will remain the principle that eventually will be a foundation-stone in the practice of good-will among nations. It is a temporary document supplementary to the Covenant of the League and corrective of some of its deficiencies. It stands in lieu of amendments to the Covenant. Its structure has for its foundation not only Christian principle but also a specific Christian method. Its chief value is in its trinity of power—arbitration, security, disarmament. The resultant is the outlawry of an aggressor nation, or to express it in general terms, the outlawry of war. "He is the aggressor who will not arbitrate." Mere disarmament is pale, spineless pacificism. It has been demonstrated to be futile. War cannot be sterilized by ruling out this or that of its weapons or methods. Referring to this subject Pollock says:

"Many prelates and men of religion exerted themselves with good effect on behalf of peace on celebrated occasions, and, we may believe, on as many others now forgotten or obscure. Again, the Church, to her credit, always stood against slavery, and it was never the practice to enslave Christian captives unless they were heretics. A few customary prohibitions had survived from ancient times and were approved as binding on Christian warriors. We abhor the use of poison in war; but so did the authors, or at any rate, the editors of the Homeric poems. All that the Church can claim here is that she cast her authoritative vote on the right side. Other restrictions which now seem capricious were attempted by a combination of chivalrous and ecclesiastical sentiment. Weapons of precision, such as the crossbow, and afterwards firearms, fell for a time under a ban which might be enforced by refusing quarter."

Furthermore, chivalric codes and customs have never operated as binding outside the aristocratic circle for which they were devised, nor can they long survive the knightly order which gave them birth. Disarmament is the outcome of antecedent good-will, not its generating cause. Whether partial or complete it must be locked to

arbitration and security to make it a dependable or even mildly peace-making procedure. It is here that the Protocol of Geneva enters upon the international stage with power. Well may David Hunter Miller, one of its originators, say that it "is one of the most important of modern international documents. This is true whether it comes into force as a binding treaty or whether it does not; and it is true because the Protocol represents a development of international thought since the World War along lines of what may be called international morality, of what may almost be called international religion, which, while not novel in the realm of thought, were wholly novel in the diplomatic field of action."

Small wonder was it that upon its presentation the smaller peoples and nations such as Croatia, Czecho-Slovakia and the Scandinavian groups immediately sought its harbour. The popular idea of the Balkans is of a nest of incurably warlike folk who would rather fight than eat. Their history to the casual observer seems to justify the estimate. But when we take into consideration the facts that they have frequently in the past been impelled to war against one another by the Greater Powers whose football they have been through long centuries, that politics in a sinister sense has too often taken the place of government, that eighty-five per cent. are peasants hitherto dominated by an aristocratic coterie, and that their patriotism has been no more ardent than, though quite as ardent as, that of England or France, a severe check is placed on condemnatory judgment. The Balkan peasants are passionately desirous of security and peace, but their history has led them to the conclusion that war is inevitable for them. The folk songs of Rumania are filled with the fatalistic acceptance of the reign of force and the tragic necessity of battle. The citizen is *ipso facto* a soldier:

Ere I go to the wars, O mother mine,
 Take thou me by the hand
 And bless my weapon, and softly lay
 Thy finger on my brow,
 And the sign of the Cross thou dost make thereon
 Watch over me shall keep
 The while I sleep.
 The ways shall be white that I travel by;
 The maidens shall come forth
 And stand at their doors and give me smiles;
 And forth the sun shall come

From behind the clouds, and be all amazed
 When he sees how cheerful I can be,
 Cheerful as he.
 For when he is dying, he hides him not;
 And when my hour is nigh
 I will shine, O mother, and glow with light
 Because I go forth to die.

THE BARD OF THE DIMBOVITZA.

Denmark, Norway and Sweden have gone farther than their sister nations in their repudiation of war as an institution, Denmark risking disarmament even before security is assured to her, and all three embracing a pacifist belief and hope. The significant thing is that, though the Protocol had its beginnings (as also in the case of the Covenant of the League and the Statute of the Permanent Court) in American ideas and proposals, it was championed in Europe by Benes, Foreign Minister of a small Power (Czechoslovakia) and seconded by the then Prime Minister of England, Ramsay MacDonald, and the then Premier of France, Herriot.

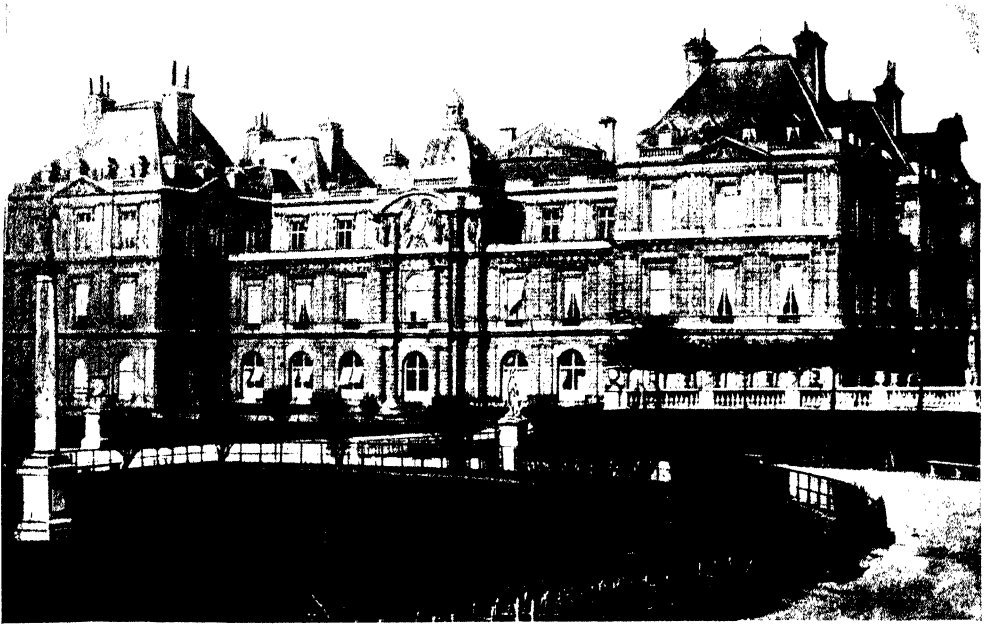
The fact that the Protocol has been arrested in its progress through the hesitation of the larger nations to ratify it means neither time nor effort lost. The nations have had placed before them principles so fundamental that they cannot and will not rest until a fitting body shall have been shaped to receive them.

The foregoing survey indicates that the nations of Europe as a whole are moving up into a more Christian conception of inter-relationship. By a determined effort to consider the national affairs of Europe in terms of the whole, by frank and open diplomacy, by substituting the international treaty for individual treaties and group alliances, by paying due respect to the interests of the smaller nations, by perpetual study and conference, by co-operative endeavour, the menace of war is at least being held in check sufficiently to enable men to visualize a family of nations and a world at peace with itself as a practical possibility. In the light of history this is not an unduly idealistic or hopeful temper of mind. It is just Christian. Without a goal in view quite superior to the demands of immediate expediency or the discouragements of momentary setbacks there can be no progress. Thus far it is not that the League has failed the nations but that nations have failed the League.

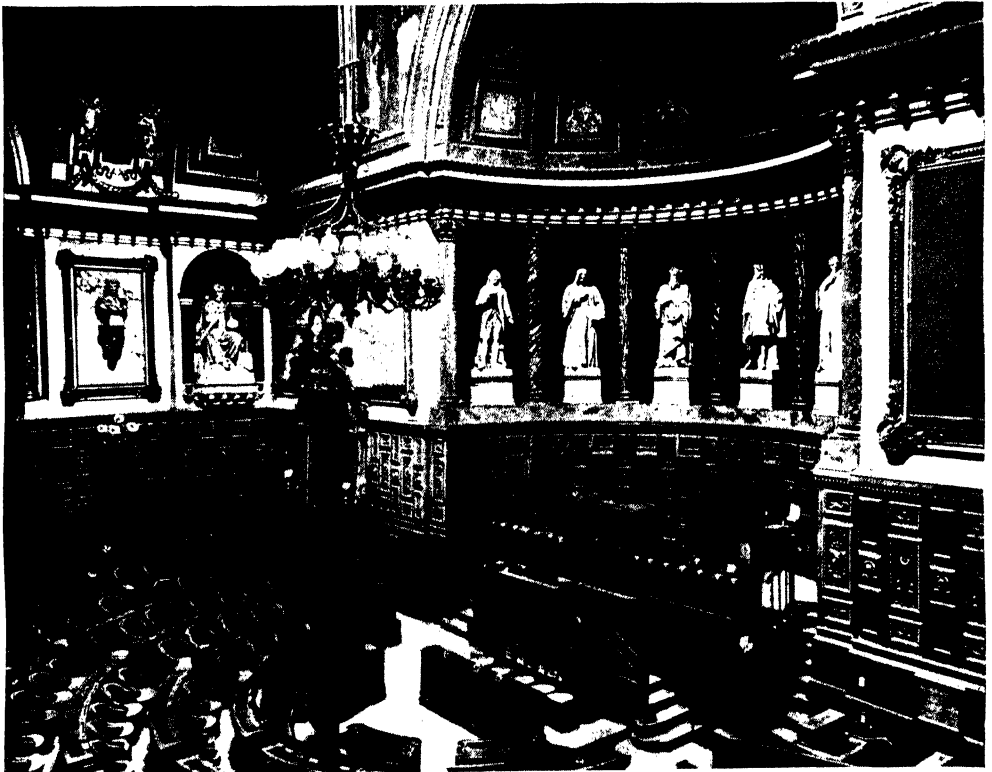
III

What place and share did the Christian Church, by deliberate effort and by unconscious influence, have in shaping and developing the nations of Europe? The answer to the question is as difficult as it is important. The fortunes of State and Church have been so intertwined since the days of Constantine that no clear outline of either is always discernible. It is significant and impressive that the early Christian documents, even when conceded the latest possible date, refer to the destined place of the nations in the Christian economy at a period when the nation could not be said to possess those features which in our day are counted essential to nationality. It was the business of the Apostles to make disciples of all nations. This was accepted from the beginning as a supreme and inalienable commission from God. The nations are to walk in the light of the Kingdom of God and in this way bring their glory and honour, together with that of their rulers, into it.

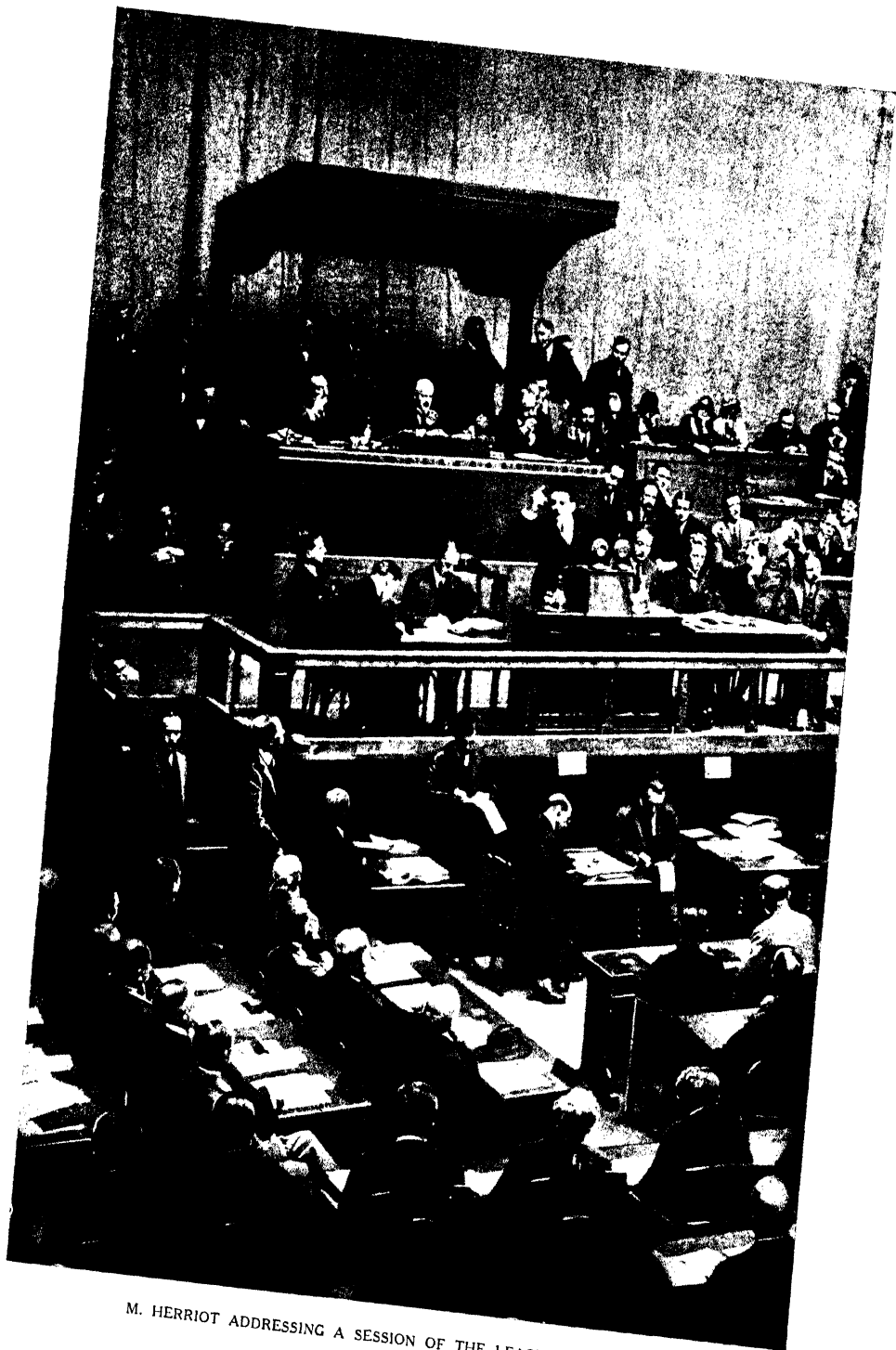
The modern nation began to emerge when the power of monarchy and the mind of the people as expressed in popular assemblies became consolidated in an alliance or *entente*. The first nation in Europe definitely to take modern form was France in the second decade of the thirteenth century. Scotland was the next in order of seniority. By degrees other nations appeared and nationalized Europe began its stormy career. It was fortunate that for four centuries before the corporate individualism of nationhood began to assert itself the ideal set for Europe by the Holy Roman Empire was unity. Behind all differences of whatever sort stood what was conceived to be the dominating Christian principle. Its restraining influence operated to curb the evils of self-determination and modify its centrifugal and disintegrating tendency. Mere nationalism stops short of the mark and carries in its bosom as much peril as blessing. It is a world without a fixed orbit. The Reformation in its political character championed national self-determination, and in its religious character promoted the independence from outside central control of the Church within the State. It trusted to the inherent oneness of Christianity, which had been recognized from the beginning, to act as cement and hold together the nascent national churches, an assumption not justified by subsequent developments. It was vital to accentuate the sanctity of the individual person or group, but



THE PALACE OF THE LUXEMBOURG, THE HOME OF THE FRENCH SENATE.



THE CHAMBER OF THE FRENCH SENATE.



M. HERRIOT ADDRESSING A SESSION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

not in a way that would lead to isolation. National churches, like the nations themselves, suffered from the fallacy of independence as the meaning of freedom. It was logical that often the Church should become little more than an aspect or function of the State, and partake of its worst as well as of its best characteristics. In a revolt against the too great integration of uniformity and centralized authority, Europe now moved in the direction of the disintegration of competitive individualism. Patriotism became the supreme virtue of the Christian and citizen, and the Machiavellian doctrine of subordinating every consideration of religion or morality to the seeming interests of the State prevailed widely. It grew to be a matter of course that the Church and churchmen should support any course of action formulated by the State, whether making for peace or war. Even when the alliance between Church and State fell under suspicion and the precept of a free Church in a free State came into practical effect, the docile loyalty of the churches to the political policy of the nation persisted. The Church was in danger of abdicating its moral leadership and often added the further fallacy of looking to the State for aid in the prosecution of its ends. It was but natural that the churches should cease to have a common mind on the practical problems of the day. In consequence the power of the Church and of religion waned just when it should have been increasingly strong, and too often the State looked with indifference upon religion when not seeking to use it for its own ends.

It is of the essence of uncurbed individualism to split and to splinter. It has been in rivalries between the fragments of Christendom, as well as in a sheepish following instead of a stalwart leading of national thought, that some of our worst calamities have originated.

The two outstanding Catholic Churches—the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox—did not escape the taint of provincial nationalism, their sincere desire to the contrary notwithstanding. In the case of the Roman Catholic Church, its continuance as a temporal power was detrimental to its catholicity.

The nationalism of the Eastern Orthodox Church has its classic instance in Russia, where the Church became so identified with the tsarist Russian State that revolution against the latter involved revolution against and persecution of the former. This has to be said in justice to indisputable fact, with full recognition of and respect for the extraordinary way the rich liturgies and superb

ceremonial of the Eastern Orthodox faith express the deep mystical religion of the Slav. But we are considering now not the Evangelical aspect of religion and the edification of individual souls, but the effect of organized Christianity on national and international affairs. Were the other our task it would be easy to speak at length and enthusiastically about the deep vitality of Oriental Christianity and the futility of any Governmental attempt to suppress it.

The Russian State, as we know it, would dispense, and apparently has openly dispensed, with Christian morals in politics. Any means that are effective to promote its ends appear to be its policy. Of course, Lenin and Bolshevism could be only what they were and are—the result of tsars and tsardom. It is not the Russian political creed as a whole that merits condemnation. That is a daring experiment quite within the rights of any nation to make.

It appears to be characteristic of the Oriental churches to become vehemently nationalistic. Each is so jealous of its own individual character that harmony is difficult to establish and maintain among the various nationals of the Eastern Orthodox communions. The net result is that the Christianity of these nations is not conducive to unity and good-will in the family of nations.

Great Britain, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany have all had their share in coquetting with Turkey, the "sick man of Europe," and trying to use him for purposes which at the moment they thought would be politically advantageous to their own interests at the cost of disunity among Christian forces, ultimately to the abandonment of Armenia, that ancient Christian people, to its tragic fate. All the Christianity of all the nations has done little more than pour oil and wine into wounds after they were inflicted without emancipating the victim from the tyranny of a pitiless foe. The churches have done much philanthropically, but their combined influence on the nations of Europe and America has not sufficed to bring elementary justice to Armenia. We should have been in different case had all European nations and churches entered into a crusade of protection and release. Armenia to-day is where she is as much owing to the national disunity of Europe as to the deliberate machinations of the Turk.

Up to the time of and during the World War organized Christianity proved in the thought of many to be but a feeble and a declining force in making national policy Christian and promoting

family feeling in diplomatic and international relations. This was in part because the churches, rather by timidity than intention, passively accepted the policies of the State as their policies without close scrutiny of ethical values. In other words, Christianity had become nationalized rather than nations Christianized. So it came to pass when the war drum beat to arms Christian fought against Christian, each invoking God to aid him and too often praying for every one but his enemies. Curiously enough—or should it be naturally enough?—when the lull of the Armistice came the churches were chided for having allowed the unmitigated calamity of the World War and warned that should another war break out the guilt would lie at their door. Now when honest effort is being made by the churches to treat the disease at its source and prevent a repetition of the disaster, there are not wanting those who charge the churches with interfering in the realm of the State !

IV

There are stirrings abroad which mark the dawn of a new era. The movement is too young as yet to have its portrait painted. But it promises well. Phillips Brooks once said, "Society advances the way a man walks—by always losing his balance and always regaining it." The churches and the nations have tried, almost abreast, uniformity and centralization, and their endeavour has left its deposit of permanent worth. The aim here was to secure men their freedom by dominating them. The next experiment was in the opposite direction. The sanctity of the individual man and nation and Church seemed to demand freedom through independence. This, too, has brought permanent blessing to mankind. For a while the prestige and influence of the unifying forces lingered to keep the new and disintegrating forces in check, but now they have ceased to operate. It has become clear that some compensating force must come to the rescue in order to restore balance to national and religious life.

With the post-War attempt at the settlement of Europe new nations have come into being, as in the Baltic group, and new national alignments have been made, as in the Balkan group. Self-determination and nationalism have been quickened all along the line. Were this the only activity at work the speedy end of all things would be as certain as the fate of the Kilkenny cats. But side

by side with the centrifugal marches the centripetal. It is being recognized by a widening circle of men that the only hope for the individual nation lies in the reconciliation of its interests with those of other nations. Freedom is to be had neither in subjection nor independence but in interdependence. Nations can reach their full stature only in association with all other nations. Partial association must meet the fate of all half-measures. What are alliances, unless they are formed subject to the interests of mankind, but the cult of the incomplete? They have all the evils of nationalism writ large. The League of Nations, whatever else it may be, is at least a symbol of that family relationship of the nations which can make the commonwealth of mankind a possibility.

As with the nations, so with the churches—they “must learn or perish.” The unity of Christendom is no longer a beautiful dream; it is a vital necessity. It cannot be a return of the unity of the past. It must be a unity effective for the purposes of Christianity. The churches undoubtedly still have some common standing-ground, but it is diminishing in area. The last religious census of the United States, for instance, gave 202 independent churches, and self-determination still progresses. Religious tribalism has broken up religious nationalism. Europe is more conservative and less inclined to split and re-split her churches, but the lines of demarcation are more distinct and divisive.

In the face of this situation the venerable Latin Church continues to proclaim unity by subjection and absorption. The other churches are looking for unity by interdependence, mutual understanding and co-operation. Aside from what must be done in the realm of theology, the research laboratory of the Church, we must recover a common ethic to be applied by all the churches to the practical matters of the nations and their relations with one another. Federative efforts and world conferences are a beginning, but it is a far cry to that reconciliation of Christian forces which will place at the disposal of the whole fellowship the various treasures now used departmentally and competitively. There must be for the churches as the next step something analogous to what the League of Nations is to the political world. Unless the churches speed up there is a danger of the nations either outdistancing the religious forces in their struggle for unity, or else, what is more likely, of relapsing into confusion because of the failure of the

churches to contribute dynamic which can be generated only by the like-minded in the pursuit of a common goal, and to which end Christ commissioned His disciples when He bade them make disciples of all nations. If the nations have not the light of the Kingdom of God in which to walk, they must walk in the dusk and not the dawn.

The distinctive feature of the ideal of unity before the modern world is that its realization is in the hands not of a few but of the whole. No longer are the issues of peace and war to be determined by experts and diplomats and officials. The world-wide question is an intimately personal question. It is the integrity of the home which is first menaced when war's wild alarum sounds. Therefore, it is the business of the members of the home to determine the course of international affairs. Unless the citizen has as his guide and enlightenment a Church with a universal ethic he cannot perform either his lesser or greater civic duties with good effect. This is the day of the people. The best known citizen, as the "Unknown Soldier" of every country proclaims, is also the least known—he who is quietly pouring his vitality into the veins of his country and mankind. It is his kind which is creating that intelligent public opinion which ultimately promises sometime in the revolving centuries to hold the intertwinings of international life in the embrace of the Great Peace.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND CHRISTIAN STATESMANSHIP

BY PHILIP KERR, C.H.

Four hundred and fifty millions of human beings are united under the symbol of a single crown in the British commonwealth of nations. It is an international organism unparalleled in history, with a prodigious complexity of responsibilities which demand every resource of wisdom and steadfastness, every aid that Christianity can lend.

NO greater moral change," writes John Richard Green in his famous "Short History of the English People," "ever passed over a nation than passed over England during the years which parted the middle of the reign of Elizabeth from the meeting of the Long Parliament [say 1580 to 1640]. England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible. It was as yet the one English book which was familiar to every Englishman; it was read at churches and read at home, and everywhere its words, as they fell on ears which custom had not deadened, kindled a startling enthusiasm. . . . The whole moral effect which is produced nowadays by the religious newspaper, the tract, the lecture, the missionary report, the sermon, was then produced by the Bible alone; and its effect in this way, however dispassionately we examine it, was simply amazing. One dominant influence told on human action; and all the activities that had been called into life by the age that was passing away were seized, concentrated, and steadied to a definite aim by the spirit of religion. The whole temper of the nation felt the change. A new conception of life and of man superseded the old. A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class. . . ."

It is not possible to understand the genesis and development of what is now called the British Commonwealth of Nations without a clear realization of the immense and continuing effect on British thought and action of the spiritual impulse which came to birth

in the Puritan age. The invention of the printing press had put the Bible in everybody's hands, and for the ensuing half-century religious issues dominated the thought of the nation. "Theology rules here," wrote Grotius, the great Dutch jurist, of England in 1605.

Nor was it religion, as it related to the personal life of the individual, that was most in question, as it has been in subsequent centuries, but religion as it affected the relations of the individual to Church and to State. The Reformation had challenged and destroyed the unity and absolutism of the Catholic Church in Christendom. It was inevitable that those who protested against the claim of the Papacy to command obedience in matters of faith should go on to protest against the claim of monarchy to command obedience in matters of State. Yet when the Protestant had begun to cast off the authority of Church and king, where was he to turn for guidance in the exercise of his own private judgment? There was only one answer—to his Bible, and so the Bible came to be the one authority not only in the private life of the individual but in the pulpit and parliament as well. In Cromwell's time it lay upon the Speaker's table in the House of Commons as the main law book of the nation.

In the sphere of public affairs, however, it was the Old Testament rather than the New which exercised the dominant influence, both in England and Scotland. There was plenty of "sweetness and light" in religious circles. But in the great controversy of the day as to the form of government in Church and State, it was the moral law of Moses, the dealings of the Lord of Hosts with the chosen people, the terrible warnings of the prophets to the rebellious children of Israel, rather than the Sermon on the Mount, which was most in men's mouths. Like all genuinely spiritual movements, Puritanism had awakened its followers to the activity and power of sin and evil in human affairs, unseen by the worldling, and it taught them that it was their mission to bring about the reign of righteousness and the overthrow of wickedness by every means in their power. This was especially the case during the twelve years when the root-and-branch Puritans, under Cromwell, basing their power on the "godly" men of the Puritan army, were the government of the land and exercised authority as the mandatories of the Lord.

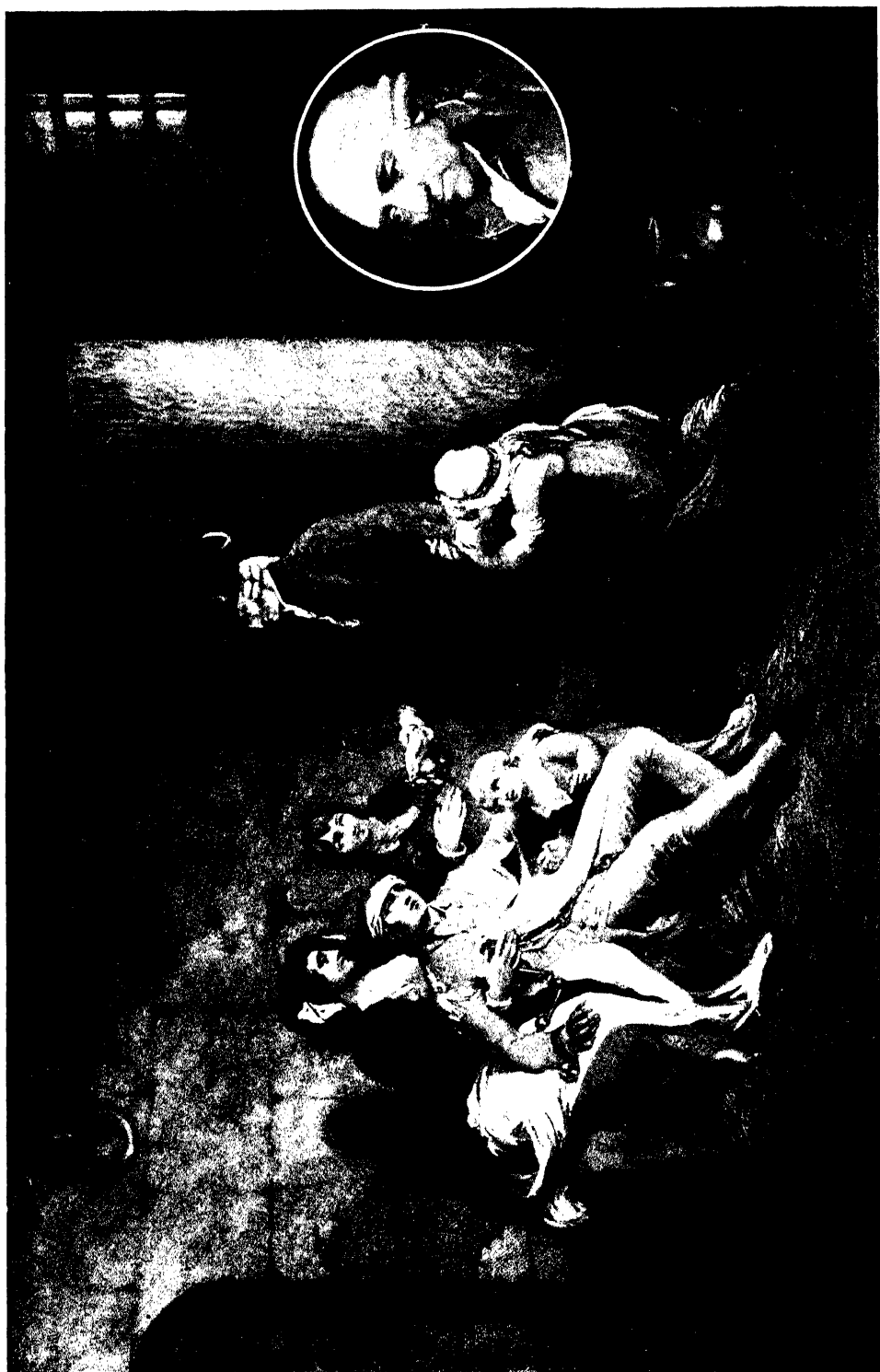
The British people, of course, had been profoundly influenced by traditional Christianity before the Reformation. Their thought was

also deeply penetrated, as was that of Europe, by the rediscovery and popularization of Greek and Latin literature at the Renaissance. It is not easy to disentangle what may be called the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Greco-Roman strains in later British history, and no attempt will be made to do so. What it is important to realize is that the religious experience of the century in which Puritanism was the foremost spiritual influence in the land left a very definite impress upon British life and character, and brought about a difference between the outlook of Great Britain and that of the greater Powers of Western Europe, which has been a main cause of the emergence of the British Commonwealth of to-day. The Puritan movement, which was an extension of the earlier Reformation movement, had almost no counterpart on the Continent, and such Puritanism as existed was early overwhelmed by the counter-Reformation, save in Geneva and in Holland.

Its principal effect was to awaken the British people to the fact, which lies at the root of all Christian teaching, that moral principle, rather than intellectual brilliance or personal force, is the true compass of humanity. Thus André Siegfried, a very competent French observer, in his book on "Post-War Britain," published in 1924, says, "Religion permeates the entire life of the country to an extent absolutely unknown in France." And Francesco Nitti, formerly Prime Minister of Italy, has observed that the great difference between political life in England and in Continental Europe is that the appeal in British political discussion is always to moral ideas, while in continental political discussion it is to intellectual ideas. This does not mean that the British are specially active church-goers, or particularly interested in theology, or unusually virtuous. They are none of these things. It is rather that they learned in the Puritan age that in their private lives, their business, their politics, their sport, the standards to which they ought to conform, even though they often did not so conform, were moral standards, and that the leaders whom they could most safely follow were those who manifested moral character. John Pym has often been described as the most typically English of all the parliamentary leaders of Britain, and of him Lord Morley writes that "he thought it part of a man's religion to see that his country was well governed, and by good government he meant the rule of righteousness both in civil and in sacred things."



HAMPDEN AND PYM PREVENTED FROM EMIGRATING TO NEW ENGLAND BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT.



The lessons learned from this recognition of the supreme importance of moral principle are quite immeasurable. Two only need be mentioned here. The first was the profound respect it implanted in the British mind for the reign of law, and for constitutional as opposed to violent methods of reform. In the long struggle of the Puritans for freedom of religion, in the fight of Eliot, Pym, and Hampden to establish the responsibility of the king's ministers to parliament, in the failure of the Cromwellian absolutism, the English learned once and for all that political freedom and the rights of the individual could only be secured by obedience to and enforcement of law, and that the law, whatever the outward form of the constitution, must be ultimately amenable to control by the sober moral sense of the community, as reflected in Parliament.

The second lesson was the intrenchment of the idea of tolerance in the public mind—that is, of the necessity for a clear delineation of the relative spheres of religion and politics in human affairs. The Puritans, having overthrown the arbitrary power of the Stuarts both in religion and politics, believed that it would be possible by governmental action to establish the Kingdom of God upon earth. Though his desire for the establishment of parliamentary rule was very strong, Cromwell was so convinced that he was the instrument of the Lord for the regeneration of England that he could not endure the delays and compromises and endless discussion which parliamentary government entails. He dismissed one parliament after another, and finally governed as a dictator till his death. This experience of the "Rule of the Saints" has left a deep distrust in the British mind of all attempts to bring about moral reforms by legislative means. Legislation ought to register and consolidate a moral advance in the community, rather than attempt to create it. The spheres of Church and State, in British judgment, ought to be kept clearly distinct, because freedom of conscience and the reign of law can only be combined if the law represents not the ideals of the religious minority but the current judgment of the community as a whole.

One other internal consequence of the Puritan epoch ought to be mentioned. On the one hand, it made possible the union of England and Scotland, in 1707, on a parliamentary basis. On the other hand it, left a religious division between Great Britain and

the greatest part of Ireland which has been at the root of all their later difficulties.

The career of nations, as of individuals, is determined not so much by their plans and visions for their own future, as by the decisions which they make in those constant choices which are forced upon them by the inexorable necessities of life itself. The history of Great Britain since the Reformation has been mainly determined by the choices which she could not fail to make once her thinking had been permeated by Puritan ideals, and they have had the most far-reaching international consequences.

The Reformation, owing to the impetus which the idea of private judgment and individual responsibility in matters of religion had given to individual initiative, gave rise to an unparalleled activity in exploration, in colonization and in the search for trade overseas. The resistance of the Puritans to the attempt of Archbishop Laud and Charles I to suppress dissent caused an immense emigration of serious and religious-minded people from England to America in search of freedom of conscience. It has been estimated that in the ten years alone before the summoning of the Long Parliament of 1640 no less than twenty thousand Englishmen crossed the sea. The adherence of Great Britain to the liberal and Protestant cause brought her into direct conflict with the great powers which supported the Counter-Reformation. The result of these three consequences of the Reformation, the rapid acquisition of overseas trading ports, the colonization of the Eastern seaboard of North America, and that series of wars with Spain and France which ended in the withdrawal of France from the New World, was the first great expansion of Britain beyond the seas.

This first British Empire lasted but a few years. It was in the main destroyed by the American Revolution. But the process of expansion soon recommenced. The earliest settlement in Australia was made in 1788 and in New Zealand a few years later. The number of trading stations and ports of call along the trade routes to the East once more increased. At the end of the century Great Britain became the head and front of the opposition to Napoleon's dream of a military empire over all Europe and was left, at the conclusion of that struggle, in possession not

only of India but of South Africa, Ceylon, Mauritius and many other islands.

During the nineteenth century the same process went on. Emigration to the New World was continuous. In her effort to achieve security for her possessions and trade routes in a world shrinking under the effect of steam Great Britain took her full part in the scramble for Africa. In the World War the conflict with military autocracy left her in possession of yet more territory in Iraq, Africa, and the Southern Pacific, control over which, under mandate from the League of Nations, was vested partly in the British and partly in the Dominion governments.

It is a common belief that the expansion of Great Britain has been the consequence of a deliberate design persistently pursued. This is to misread the fundamental forces which have been at work. The expansion of Great Britain has been due to the same causes as the equally rapid expansion of the United States, first across the continent and then to Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines and Central America. In the case of Great Britain the forces have operated with far greater intensity because of her contiguity to the Old World. Once she became ranged in opposition, first to the Counter-Reformation and later to the great imperial absolutisms of Europe, she was driven in defence of her security and of the freer civilization for which she stood, to resist their annexation of the immense resources of Asia, Africa and America, and of the ports and harbours which controlled the highways of the sea. In that process her own possessions have steadily increased. Similarly, wherever the native governments have been undermined by the impact of Western civilization or the effects of the wars between the European Powers, she has found herself with no option but to take charge of government herself. Other motives have undoubtedly played their part from time to time, but the expansion of the overseas responsibilities of Great Britain, as every scientific historian agrees, has almost always been against the desires of the governments of the day and has been reluctantly accepted as being less objectionable than the alternatives, acquiescence in annexation by another Power or the tolerance of anarchy.

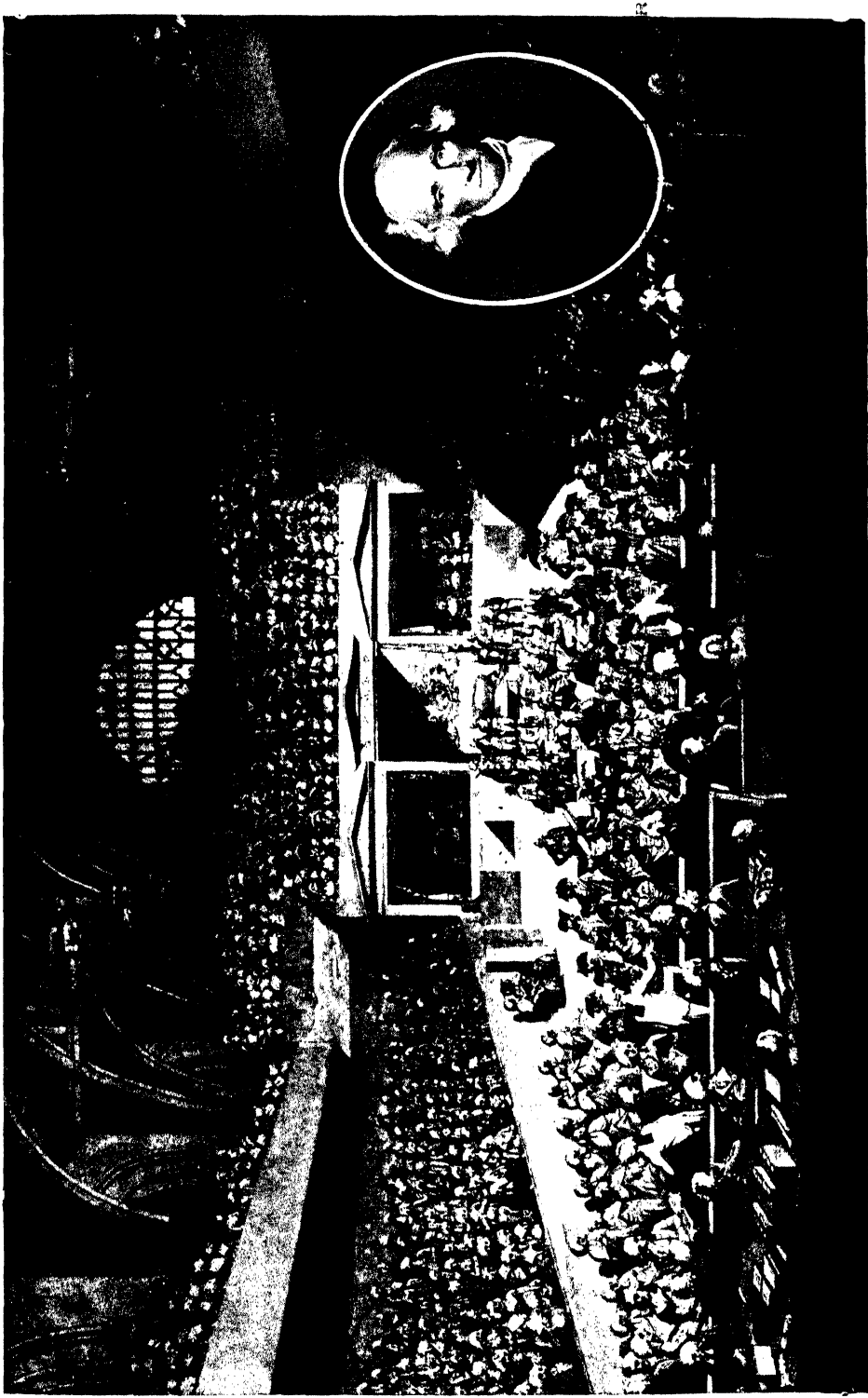
The importance of these facts does not lie in the justification they may afford for the British Empire. It consists in the proof they give of the immense influence which the Reformation had in

determining the fundamental features both of the modern world and of the modern British Commonwealth. Whatever may be thought of the conduct of individual British governments at particular moments or in particular transactions, there is no question that the control now exercised by the British Commonwealth over one quarter of the earth, and the predominant position now occupied in world affairs by the English-speaking nations—the most significant thing that has happened since the break-up of the Roman Empire—is, in the main, the direct outcome of forces set in motion by the Puritan movement. This religious experience led to an unparalleled migration of population to empty lands, it caused the growth of a free and democratic civilization, it ranged the English-speaking peoples against both the Catholic and the political absolutisms of Europe. The result has been that practically the whole of the non-European World has come under the influence of a system of thought and government based on freedom of conscience, parliamentary government and the reign of law at the very moment when the discoveries of natural science were breaking down the old partitions which separated the families of men.

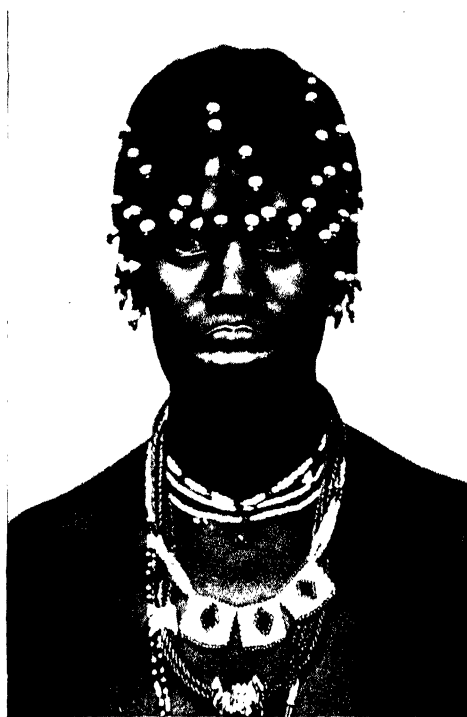
II

If Christianity, and especially that aspect of it which came to the front during the Puritan epoch, had an immense effect on world politics and upon the expansion of Great Britain and the growth of the British Commonwealth, it had no less effect upon its internal life. St. John's Gospel (i. 17) says: "For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ," and St. Paul observes that, "the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ" (Galatians iii. 24). The popular recognition of the importance of the moral law was the necessary foundation for a more spiritual and Christian movement.

This did not, however, immediately appear. The century after the collapse of the Puritan Commonwealth was probably the most unspiritual in British history. The sensualism of the Restoration era and the stodgy complacent materialism of the first half of the eighteenth century, which were the reaction from the uncompromising standards of the Puritan age, reigned practically unchallenged. The results were a great feebleness in British policy, save during the period of Chatham, the renewal of the royal challenge



THE TR. OF REN HASTINGS. NSET, REN .ST



A ZULU WOMAN.



A YOUNG ZULU GIRL.



A ZULU CHIEF.

to the supremacy of Parliament under George III, and that blind and unprogressive policy which culminated in the American Revolution and the practical disappearance of the first British Empire.

But underground the spiritual movement never died. Its vitality was kept alive by individuals in the Church of England and among the contemned dissenting sects, Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and others. In about 1739 it came to a new birth in the Methodist revival, inaugurated by Wesley and Whitefield and their "poor preachers." The Methodist movement was first devoted to the personal redemption of the individual. It was little concerned, as was the Puritan movement, with public affairs in Church and State. Yet the Methodist revival, and the endless series of regenerative movements which have followed it in other denominations, all Christian in their inspiration, have had far-reaching effects upon the public policy of the nation.

The first and most clearly marked effect was the awakening of the humanitarian spirit. This outcome of Christianity has been the chief inspiration of that immense philanthropic enterprise which is so characteristic of modern times. It raised hospitals, endowed charities and built churches for the relief and instruction of the poor and oppressed. It produced John Howard and the movement, begun in 1774, which reformed the atrocious conditions of the prisons. It started that stream of missionaries to Africa and Asia which is flowing in increasing volume still. It accomplished, under the direction of Wilberforce, the abolition of the slave trade in 1806, and the suppression of slavery itself throughout all British possessions in 1833. It was the first voice, though a voice largely ineffective until the middle of the nineteenth century, which protested against the appalling conditions under which the industrial revolution was herding the workers together in the towns and compelling men, women and children to work. It has been the mainspring behind the general improvement in the moral standards of modern society, the diminution of coarseness and brutality, the spread of the zeal and provision for education, the passion for social progress and reform of later times. Though non-Christian organizations have also played their part, the greater portion of that vast effort, "which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the moral degradation of the

profligate and the poor, and of that passionate sympathy with the wronged and afflicted which is the note of the modern world," has come from Christian sources. The leaders, Whitefield, Wesley, Howard, Wilberforce, Florence Nightingale, Livingstone, Shaftesbury, Chalmers, John Bright, and others, all drew their inspiration from the Bible and were active and professing Christians.

The Evangelical movement, however, with its emphasis on the equal value of every individual in the eyes of God, also had two very important effects on the structure of the later British Commonwealth. The first was the establishment as a cardinal element of British policy of the idea of trusteeship in the government of dependencies. The second was the growth of democracy.

The idea of trusteeship was first generally recognized at the Warren Hastings trial in 1786. In the earlier period after the age of discovery the theory had been dominant that colonies or territory overseas were possessions to be exploited for the benefit of their owners, and resolute attempts were made to try and keep foreigners from trading with them. The effect was seen in the gradual impoverishment of the empires of Portugal and Spain in America, and in the rebellion of the American colonists against British rule. In the case of India a new idea came into play.

The chaos which developed in India as a result of the wars between Great Britain and France and the decay of the Mogul Empire after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, led to the gradual assumption by an English trading company, the East India Company, of responsibility for the government of Bengal. Once established as a government, however, the area grew over which it inexorably ruled. Its administration was stable and effective, that of its neighbours weak and chaotic. In its attempts to deal with the disorder and wars along its frontiers, it found itself constantly driven to expand those frontiers as the simplest road to peace and order. Before long, however, stories began to come to England of extortion and cruelty by the Company and its servants, and agitation for reform was started largely by the same evangelical forces as were combating the slave trade. At length the question became a political issue and Warren Hastings, the Governor appointed by the Company, was impeached before the House of Lords. History has largely vindicated the character of Hastings, but the eloquence of Burke and the widespread publicity of the trial

brought home to the people what G. M. Trevelyan, the historian, calls "the new and vital idea . . . that they had become, before God and man, the trustees of helpless millions," and created in the words of John Richard Green, "a general resolve that the security against injustice and misrule which was enjoyed by the poorest Englishman should be enjoyed by the poorest Hindoo."

This idea, unquestionably Christian in its origin, touched the conscience of the nation. It was early recognized that a company existing to pay dividends could not properly be left with responsibility for government. In 1784 the political control of Parliament over the government of India was established by law. It was natural, once the responsibility for conducting the government had been accepted, that Great Britain should apply in her dependencies the same code of public morality, constitutionalism, justice and tolerance, that she had learnt and established at home in the seventeenth century. It has been these basic ideas, learned in the Puritan revolution, which have been the mainspring and the secret of Great Britain's long and successful record of colonial administration during the nineteenth century. The idea of trusteeship, too, has steadily spread. It has raised the standards of colonial administration, not in the British Commonwealth alone, but all over the world, until to-day it is enshrined in Article XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations as the ideal which should govern all relations between advanced and backward peoples.

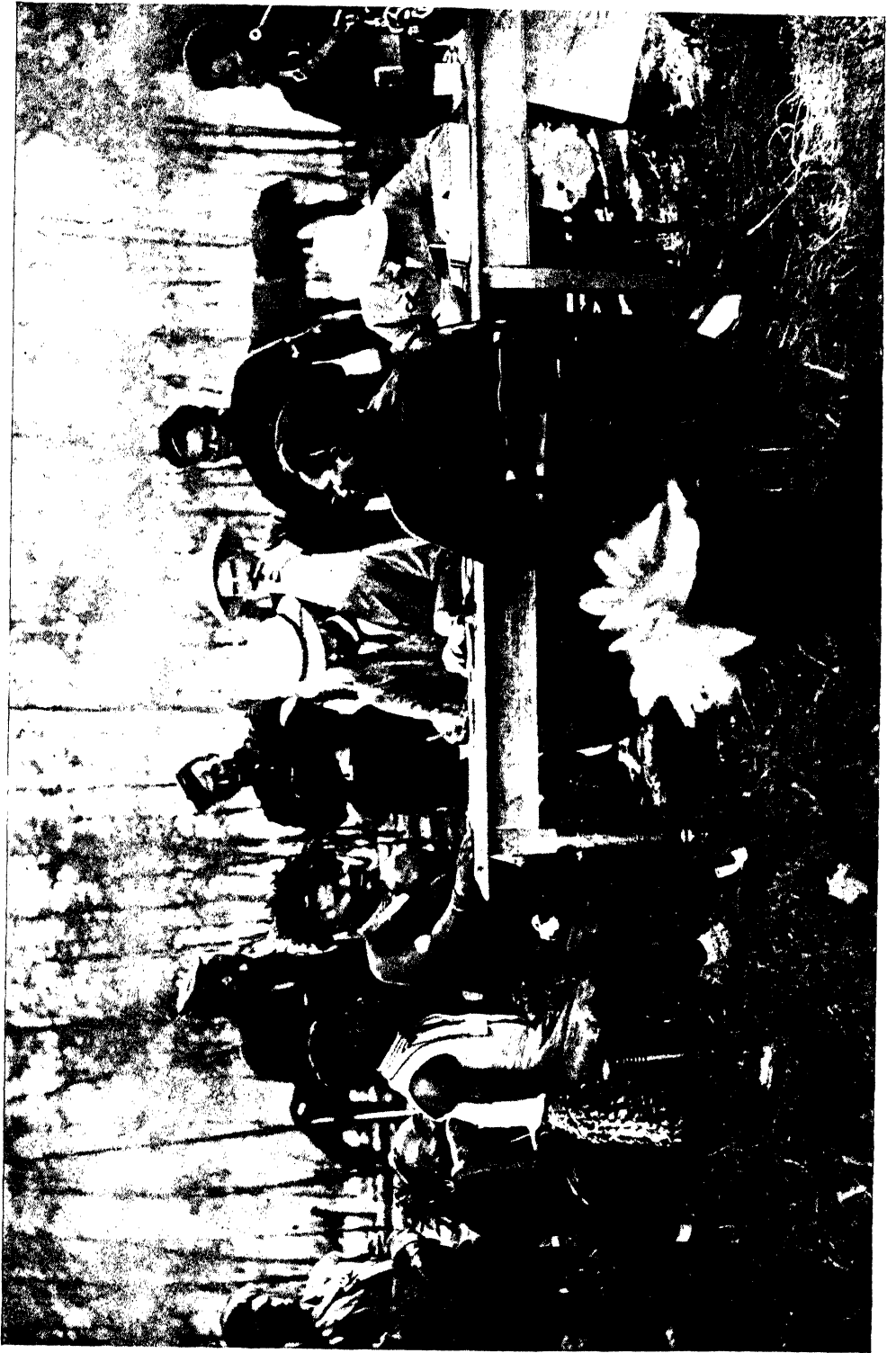
III

The influence of Christianity in producing the democratic movement of modern times is less obvious, because democracy is also the outcome of the Renaissance and of the doctrines of the Rights of Man popularized by Voltaire, Rousseau and Tom Paine. But Christianity, in its emphasis on the brotherhood of man and the responsibility of every individual for his own salvation, has immensely promoted its advance. Successful democracy is only possible when the individual citizen has reached a fairly advanced level of education, public spirit, and self-control. Its permanent foundations in the world were not laid until the Protestant Reformation arrived, when the responsibility of the individual, not to obey authority because it was constituted but to think for himself and to act as his conscience directed, was finally recognized.

Democracy developed markedly more slowly in Great Britain than in the United States. This was due partly to the excesses of the French Revolution and its outcome, the rise of Napoleon, which discredited the Continental theory of democracy based on the abstract Rights of Man, and partly to the inevitable preoccupation of Great Britain with external problems, always the last and most difficult for a democracy to understand and handle. Moreover, the fundamental thought of the British people has been more concerned that the laws and institutions by which they were governed should be wise and just and secure liberty to the individual than that they should represent or reflect the opinions of the people themselves. The American philosophy of democracy, itself the outcome of the religious experience of the founders of the country, is that the individual's growth in citizenship implies share in the responsibility for the government of his country, and that it is better that a people should govern itself badly and learn from its own mistakes than be well governed by an educated minority. This theory only made gradual headway in Great Britain. The first step from a Parliament dominated by the aristocracy towards true democracy was not taken until the Reform Act of 1832. There were extensions of the franchise in 1867 and 1884. The grant of the suffrage to women took place in 1917.

It was natural that democratic sentiment should grow more rapidly in the new settlements overseas which, like the United States, had few foreign complications to burden them, and Great Britain, taught by the experience of the American Revolution, yielded to the demand for colonial self-government without much demur. Self-government was inaugurated in Canada in 1840, in Australia in 1851, in New Zealand in 1853, and in Cape Colony in South Africa in 1872. Only in Ireland was the demand for Home Rule resisted, with disastrous results for both sides. In North America, Australia and South Africa, however, there were a number of separate colonies, and the grant of self-government produced local confusion. In each case, after a time, the representatives of the different colonies met together and drew up federal constitutions for their countries. Thus came into being what are now known as the Dominions, Canada in 1867, Australia in 1900, and South Africa in 1910.

One of the results of the slow development of democracy in Great





TYPICAL KAFFIRS.



TYPICAL HOTTENTOTS.



KAFFIR WARRIORS BEFORE THEIR KRAAL.

Britain was the British government's excessive readiness to do the work of administration in its more backward dependencies instead of training the local inhabitants to do so for themselves. In later years, however, under the influence of the ideals of the World War, self-government was seen to be the necessary complement to good government. In 1920 a constitution was enacted for India on the basis that responsibility for its government, beginning with the provinces, was to be transferred to the elected representatives of its 318,000,000 inhabitants by gradual steps and in proportion as they demonstrated their capacity to govern themselves. In 1922 the Egyptians drew up a constitution for the conduct of their own internal affairs, and the foundations for democracy have similarly been laid in the West Indies, Malta, and many other Crown colonies. The older idea of a well-governed but static Empire has given way everywhere to the idea of a Commonwealth of peoples governing themselves or in training for self-government. Whether this experiment will be a rapid success is still uncertain, for democracy has never yet been able to maintain itself, except where Christianity has laid the necessary foundation of moral responsibility in a sufficient proportion of its inhabitants.

The modern British Commonwealth of Nations, in the growth of which Christian influences, as set forth in the preceding pages, have played so great a part, is a political structure unparalleled in history. Authority within it is now shared between Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland, and Ireland (which became a Dominion in 1923). Though Great Britain is pre-dominant in the partnership, the Commonwealth has no central government or Parliament. Each of the seven units is a completely self-governing State, independent of the others, and possessed of strongly marked national characteristics and of its own aspirations. Yet the reality and strength of their mutual loyalty, symbolized by the common Crown, was proved by the extent and promptitude of their common action during the World War and at Peace Conferences since. What this unity of spirit between the nations of the British Commonwealth is, it is difficult to say. It is not unity of race, for French, Dutch, and half the races of Europe as well as Anglo-Saxons are loyal citizens. It is not nationality, for the sentiment of nationality is confined to the units of which the Commonwealth is composed. It is partly tradition, partly language

and culture, partly common interest and institutions. But fundamentally it is the conviction that the Pax Britannica does for a quarter of the modern world what the Pax Romana did for the civilized world eighteen hundred years ago—the faith that the Commonwealth as it exists to-day secures peace, freedom, order and progress among 450,000,000 of the sons of men, that it bridges the gulf between races, religions, colours, and nations scattered over the four corners of the earth as no other human institution in modern times has done, and that it stands for unity, freedom and peace in international affairs. And is there any doubt that if this is true, and if the Commonwealth is destined to endure, it is precisely because in some degree it does embody and express some of those great ideals of righteousness and humanity which Christianity has taught?

IV

What of to-day? What influence is Christianity exerting on the British Commonwealth and its problems in the post-war world? It is clearly pressing for more fidelity to the moral law, for temperance, for social progress in a hundred ways. But what solution does it offer for the great new problems which confront the Commonwealth to-day; the question of world peace, of the prevention of that greatest of scourges, international war; the difficulty of race and colour prejudice, aroused by the shrinking of the world due to modern inventions and the awakening of the Orient, and threatening the most acute difficulties both inside the British Commonwealth and between all the peoples of the earth; the labour question, now world-wide in its ramifications, the problem of securing a better distribution of wealth, of ending industrial slavery and economic imperialism, of curtailing the excessive power of property, of establishing democracy in industry?

There is no doubt about the answer. The solution of these problems is still the "Law and the Gospel"—the combination of that firm grasp of law and principle possessed by the Puritans with the gentler and more spiritual Christianity of later times.

The ending of international war can manifestly only follow the effective establishment of the brotherhood of men and nations on earth by the creation of some constitutional bond uniting them all under the reign of one just law. The separation of humanity into water-tight groups, each self-centred and recognizing no law but

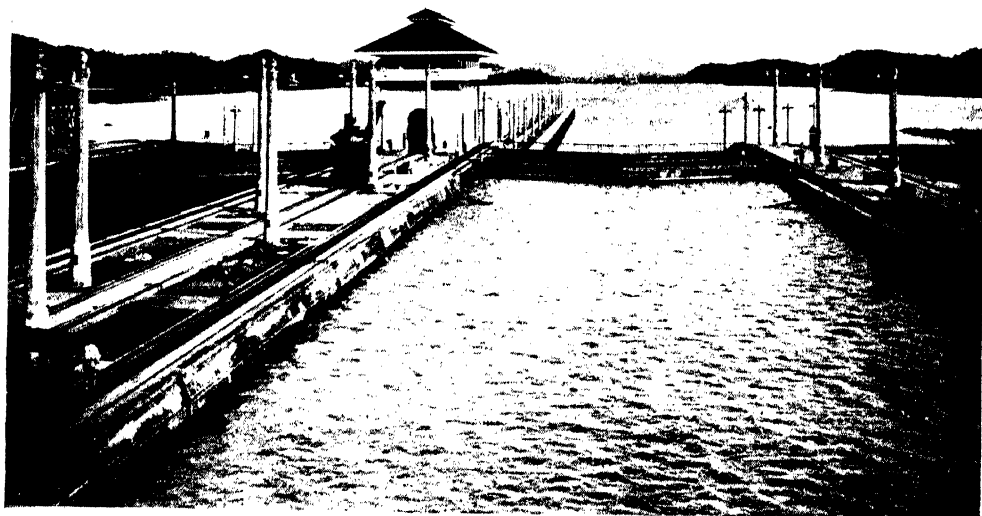
its own will, is the root cause of war. The sword of armaments will never be beaten into the ploughshare of peace until the unity of humanity is recognized in spirit and in law. The British Commonwealth of nations is one attempt to bring about that unity. The League of Nations is the dim foreshadowing of a still greater union. Christianity is necessarily a supporter of the ideal which underlies both.

It is the same with problems of race and colour. Never have such active efforts been made to bring the peoples of the earth into friendly touch with one another, to break down the barriers of ignorance and prejudice, and establish understanding, as are being made to-day. Missionary enterprise, the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Student Christian Movement, relief and educational work of every kind, practically all under Christian impulse in some form, are concentrating more than ever before on destroying race and colour prejudice and on laying the foundations for human concord in the recognition of the ultimate equality and perfectability of all mankind. And nowhere are Christian forces working more earnestly than in the immense field for this work that is afforded among the races and peoples who live under the Union Jack.

Similarly with the economic problems. Organized Christianity has certainly been backward in reminding its followers of the very definite teaching of both the Old and the New Testament about the perils of wealth and of worshipping what money can buy. The manifold evils of modern industrial civilization arise mainly from a disregard of the Christian rule that wealth ought not to be used selfishly but in accordance with the Golden Rule. The growth of the Labour Party, especially in Great Britain and Australia, has awakened the British peoples to these evils both at home and in their tropical dependencies overseas, and Christian forces are now busily endeavouring to find a more constructive substitute for the bitter and revolutionary solutions of a purely rationalist socialism.

Thus if we look back over the history of Great Britain and the growth of the modern British Commonwealth the immensity of the effect of Christianity is very manifest. It is not always easy at any one time to disentangle Christian from other influences. Nor is it contended that the British peoples have lived up to their own standards any better than have other peoples. But it is clear that

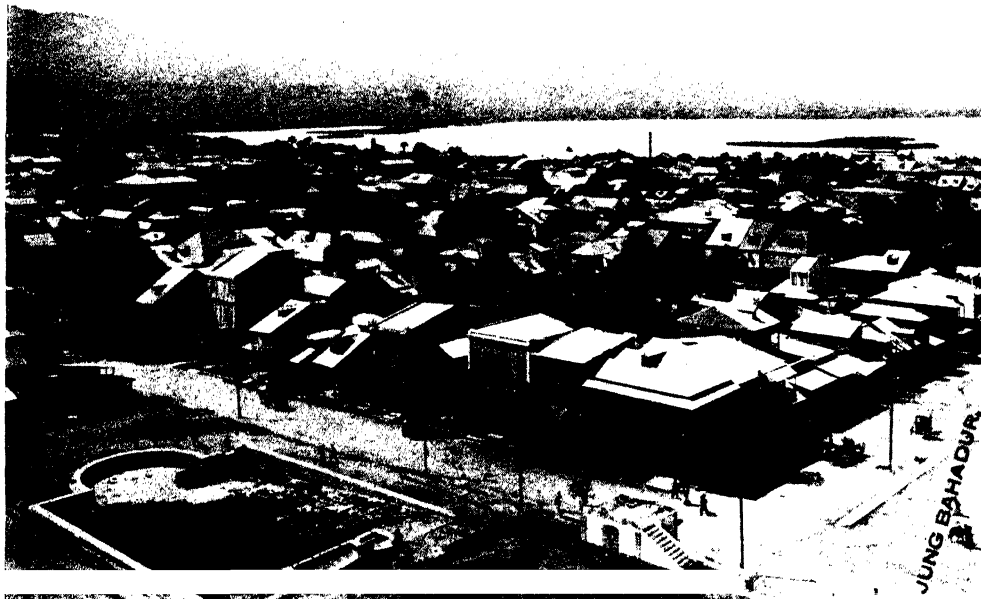
certain ideas have formed the character and thinking of the British people, have moulded the institutions and spirit of the Commonwealth they have created, have exerted the most profound influence on the history of the world and on the place of the British Commonwealth within it, and that the noblest of these ideas have practically all been Christian in their source. Though Christian sects have been divided by creed and dogma, though organized Christianity has often headed not progress but reaction, Christianity itself stands unfalteringly for the moral law, for constitutionalism, for tolerance, for humanity, for freedom, for unity, for justice, for mercy, for humility, for equality, for self-government, in a word for righteousness in the noblest sense of that much abused term. The British Commonwealth has been a success in the past just in proportion as the British people have understood and obeyed what Christianity has taught. It will do its work successfully in the future just in proportion as they understand and are faithful to what the Master Christian revealed.



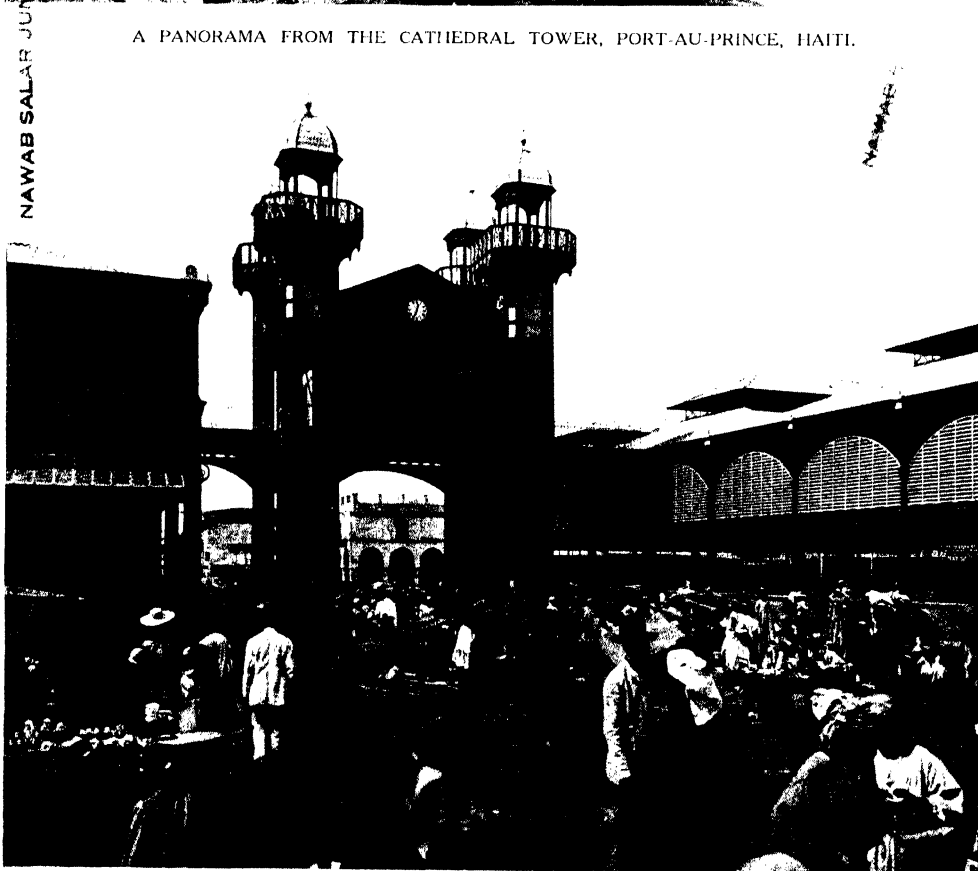
ONE OF THE LOCKS ON THE PANAMA CANAL.



UNITED STATES MEN-OF-WAR PASSING THROUGH A LOCK.



A PANORAMA FROM THE CATHEDRAL TOWER, PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI.



A VIEW OF THE MARKET PLACE, PORT-AU-PRINCE, THE CAPITAL OF HAITI.

CHAPTER XV

THE UNITED STATES AND CHRISTIAN STATESMANSHIP

BY JAMES G. McDONALD

On a scale of extraordinary magnitude the United States of America has in great measure solved some of the problems of internationalism by a union of states and a fusion of peoples into a single nation. But the isolation of the United States and the intricacy of its own problems have contributed to make it reluctant to look much outside its own borders; to-day it hesitates in assuming international responsibility. How much of this hesitation is selfish?

THE foreign policy of the United States has vast significance for the whole world. Increasingly her activities and in-activities will affect favourably or adversely the efforts now being made to save mankind from the recurrence of a débâcle similar to that of 1914. The degree to which its policies embody Christian principles will be decisive.

What is foreign policy? It is usually interpreted as the established and generally recognized attitude of a country towards the major problems which face it in its relations to the rest of the world. It is not the same as foreign affairs, for these include many matters which cannot correctly be said to have attained the status of policy. Isolated governmental actions, therefore, which are unrelated to and inconsistent with a clearly marked policy cannot fairly be taken as the basis for criticism. They may, however, clearly justify criticism of the administration responsible for them. All the more reprehensible are such actions if taken in secret without the knowledge or approval of the people.

What, then, is a Christian foreign policy? The consensus of opinion of those in responsible foreign offices or diplomatic posts would probably be: The rigid adherence by a government to its treaty obligations even though this may seem at times to go counter to its immediate selfish interests; the just and fair treatment of weak or so-called backward peoples; the acceptance, wherever essential

to eliminate an intolerable nuisance or to prevent international friction, of such responsibilities as are inherent in trusteeship for those not yet able or willing to care for themselves.

This definition obviously does not go far enough to describe a truly Christian foreign policy. Adherence to obligations, justice, fairness, even stewardship unless rigidly unselfish, are not enough. It would involve also neighbourliness—and forgiveness. Its basis would be the oneness of mankind and the universality of brotherly love.

But men with responsibility for governmental decisions reply: Few situations ever permit of an ideal solution; governments usually must choose between two or more alternatives, not one of which permits, under the circumstances existing at the time, an absolute Christian settlement; constantly Foreign Offices must choose the least un-Christian policy. They then add: Therefore, criticism of any given policy which does not weigh the alternatives is certain to be misleading and unfair.

Is then a truly Christian foreign policy possible? Many Christian philosophers and publicists say "No." Some argue: The State is above the Moral Law; Christian principles are utterly impracticable, or, if applicable, would be subversive of the highest interests of civilization. Others, while admitting the desirability of the Christian ideal, look upon it as a delusion wholly without validity in the harsh realm of international relations, and, like all delusions, dangerous, because it blinds nations to the dangers which encompass them, thus tending to make them the defenceless victims of ruthless neighbours. It is imperative, therefore, one of the leaders of this school of thought declares, that a system of national ethics correct the destructive influences of the universal ethics of Jesus.

Does the general practice of nations in their relations to each other support this pessimistic thesis? Multitudes of men and women in all countries staunchly declare the inadequacy of a policy of national selfishness. But it is the practice of States, not the protestations of righteous but impotent private citizens, which really matters. Tested thus, one can hardly deny the conclusion of L. P. Jacks that "such an international ethic as can now be fairly said to exist, is, at best, of the most elementary and uncertain kind, and quite inadequate to give moral direction to the powerful interests which come into collision and call for reconciliation on the field

of foreign policy. . . . It is unenlightened . . . and barbaric. One may doubt at times whether it exists at all."

In our study this lack of a clear, unmistakable and universally accepted basis of international ethics is a fundamental, perhaps insurmountable, difficulty. But there are other obstacles almost as serious. Our inquiry necessitates opinions on many highly controversial questions, where often the facts, the motives, and the results are all disputed. Personal prejudice and partisanship, despite our utmost efforts, will colour our judgments. Our conclusions, therefore, can at best be merely personal, tentative and suggestive. It is hoped that they will contribute a little towards the quickening of popular interest in this heart-aching question: What is the Christian way of international life? Is the United States contributing worthily towards this idea?

Until 1898, the people of the United States thought of themselves as apart from the rest of the world. They had fought no European war since the episodic conflict with the mother country in 1812. Peace seemed to them as natural and normal as life itself. Absorbed in the epic task of developing a continent, they had few interests abroad which involved possibilities of conflict. Convinced that they were essentially different from Europeans, they were contemptuous of the trappings and glamour of diplomacy and military and naval establishments. They forgot that their peace, which has been well called "a peace without effort," was but the happy result of an unusual and temporary combination of circumstances. The three basic conditions which made it possible were ominously but almost imperceptibly changing during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

(1) The geographic isolation of the United States was steadily lessened by the marvellous development of new methods of transportation and communication.

(2) Equally important, but less generally understood, the nation's economic self-sufficiency steadily declined. More and more American agricultural, and later manufacturing, interests became dependent on foreign markets.

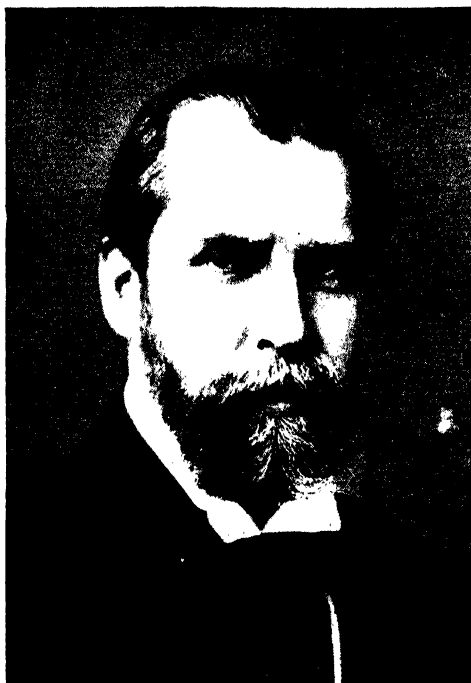
(3) Therefore, the differences and rival ambitions of European States, which during most of the century were a decisive factor in

frustrating plans of aggression against the United States or Latin-America, gradually began to be a threat to American peace. As the interests of the United States became more and more world-wide, she was involved, step by step, in what had heretofore been regarded as non-American affairs. In short, physically, economically and politically, she was becoming an integral part of the world.

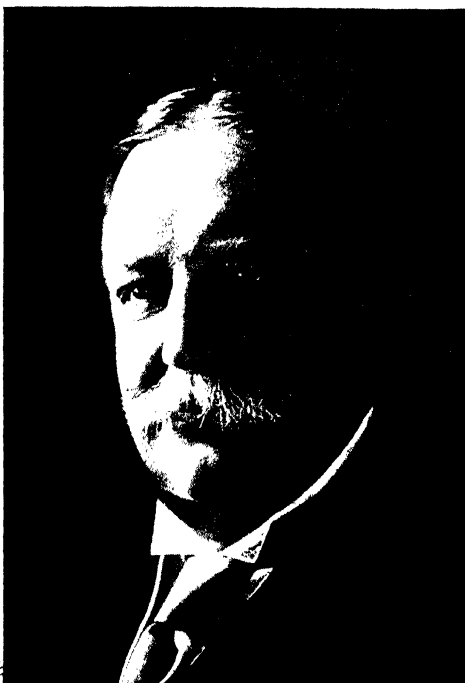
In the meantime, Americans had not been as peaceful as they like to believe. Expansion across the continent was marred by wars and threats of wars. They took what they wanted from their weaker neighbours. The Floridas were virtually seized from a demoralized Spain. Texas, California and the South-west were gained through pressure and war against an impotent Mexico. Towards their stronger neighbours, Great Britain and Russia, they frequently, in territorial controversies with them, used a tone of extreme belligerency.

The Monroe Doctrine was in the beginning, and has continued to be throughout, a unilateral declaration of United States foreign policy. President Monroe's pronouncement in his message to Congress, December 2, 1823, "Hands Off," "America for the Americans," though variously interpreted by successive Administrations, has been consistently and vigorously maintained by all. It is one of the few foreign policies of the United States Government, in support of which almost universal popular approval is certain. Intended as a defensive measure, the doctrine has been of vast value in protecting South and Central America against the fate which has befallen Africa, ruthless partitioning among the imperialist Powers. None the less because of occasional acts of gross injustice, and more frequently, maladroitness and rudeness on the part of the United States, and because of the extreme sensitiveness of her Southern neighbours, this policy has been frequently characterized throughout Latin-America as a cloak for "Yankee Imperialism."

To what extent was the foreign policy of the United States during the nineteenth century Christian? It depends on the definition. Only the roughest estimate is possible. It was the policy of a vigorous, aggressive, expanding people. That, incident to its expansion, it did not develop militarism akin to that of European States during the same period was due, not to fundamental differences of aims or ideals, but rather to the radically different conditions of the new and of the old world. National enlargement, though



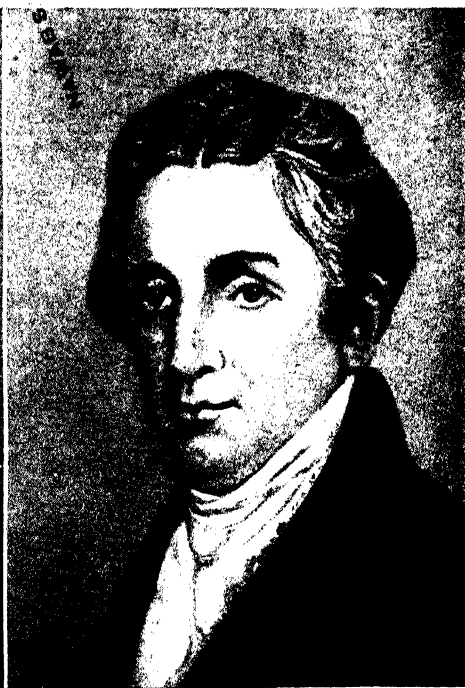
CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.



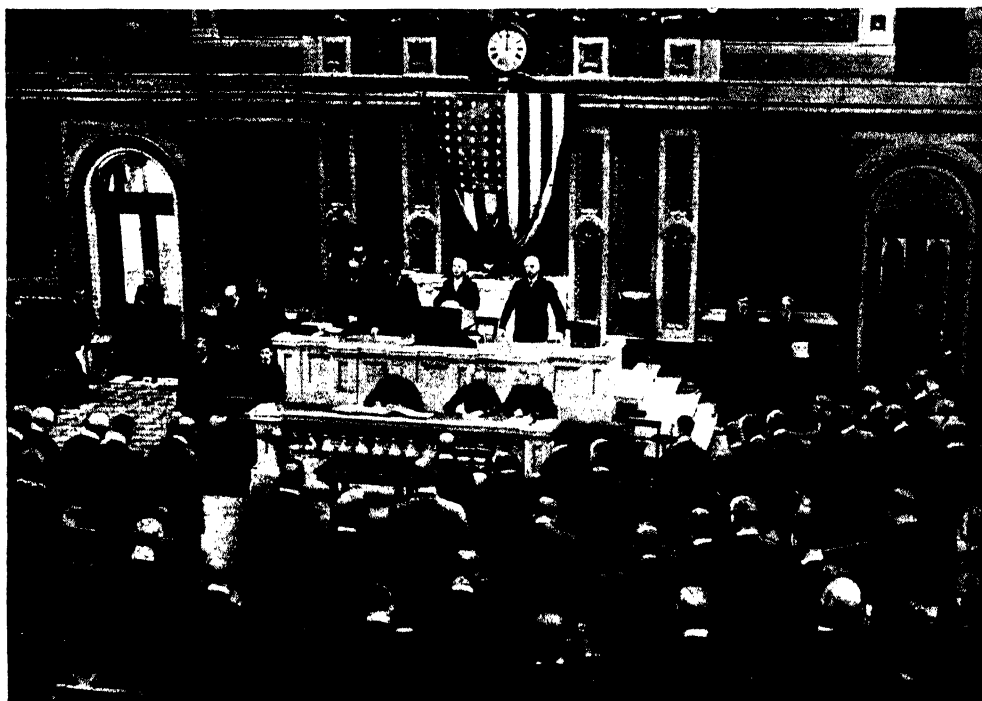
ELIHU ROOT.



JAMES MONROE.



THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, UNITED STATES.



PRAYERS AT THE OPENING OF A FIRST SESSION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, U.S.A.

unprecedented in extent of territory and growth of population, nowhere encountered settled communities adequately defended. Hence, with security unendangered by foreign troops, the United States escaped most of the evils usually incident to rapid national growth. If, therefore, her foreign relations of the last century were happily less tinged than those of Europe with the un-Christian elements of hatred, suspicion and intrigue, it should always be remembered that fate made a simpler, less tortuous and more direct policy immeasurably easier for the Americans than for their European contemporaries.

II

But this "peace without effort" was suddenly ended. The war with Spain thrust upon the United States, wholly unprepared as a people, her initial responsibilities as a world Power. This synchronized exactly with the scramble of the European Powers for colonies, protectorates and spheres of influence. Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines presented problems for the solution of which there were no American precedents. The lengthy and heated Congressional debate that ensued, not on questions of detail, but on the basic question whether or not responsibility for these regions should be assumed, shows how unprepared the American people were for these new obligations. The issue was for a while in doubt. The decision finally reached was different in the case of each territory.

Cuba was recognized as independent, but the United States insisted upon qualifications which were embodied in and known as the Platt Amendment. This made Cuba in effect a protectorate. But in exercising her reserved rights, the United States has shown unusual restraint and unimpeachable desire to limit her interference to the minimum required to meet her obligations. This relationship offers an excellent example of stewardship, with due regard to the rights and interests of the Cuban people. It is a sad commentary on the general standard of international relationships that this fairness in dealing with Cuba should stand out in such bold relief.

Porto Rico was annexed. During the Spanish war no pledges were made in reference to it, as had been given to Cuba. It was not granted even a qualified independence, nor was it admitted to statehood. Instead a government very like that of a British Crown

colony was set up. It enjoys local self-government, and an excellent administrative system. Though Porto Rican leaders expressed the desire for statehood and the resulting privileges of United States citizenship, the masses of the people have few substantial grounds for complaint.

The Philippines presented many difficult and complicated problems. Accepting the opinion that immediate withdrawal would result in something like anarchy and possibly conquest by a neighbouring power, President McKinley decided on annexation. However, he then declared, "The Philippines are ours not to exploit but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government."

The vast advance in all fields of activity, industry, commerce, agriculture, finance, public health, justice, self-government, made by the islands since the American occupation is undeniable. But most brilliant and admirable of all are the achievements of the American system of education. In 1900 there were almost no children in school. To-day there are nearly 1,300,000 out of a population of 11,000,000. The first building in every village is the school. The education ladder reaches from the primary school to the university. Among the teachers in the schools and the students in the colleges are those whose fathers or grandfathers were serfs, tree-dwellers, or head-hunters. Never before have a Malay people had opportunities comparable to these.

Philippine affairs are now largely in the hands of Filipinos themselves. They have already developed a degree of self-government unprecedented among Eastern people under Western control. Democracy and Republicanism are being tested as never before under similar circumstances. American influence, it may be fairly said, has been wisely and generously utilized to develop the best in the Filipinos. The results of this policy of really Christian stewardship are being anxiously watched in Java, India, China and Japan.

What of independence? Repeatedly American statesmen—Presidents McKinley, Taft, Roosevelt, and Wilson—either by implication or unqualified affirmation, have given this pledge to the Filipinos. The Jones Bill, passed in August, 1916, declares in its preamble that it is the purpose of the United States to withdraw its sovereignty from the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence "as soon as a stable Government can be established therein."

Therefore, whenever the masses of the Filipino people demonstrate their capacity for self-government and an unquestionable desire for independence it seems unmistakable that the United States is morally bound to acquiesce.

The cession by Spain of the Philippines and the island of Guam, on the east, gave the United States a new stake in the Pacific. It also hastened the annexation of Hawaii and the division of Samoa between the United States and Germany, with slight regard to the claims of the natives. Then followed the reassertion of the United States claims to the Midway Islands and the occupation of the neighbouring Wake Islands in 1900. In these steps there was little to differentiate the United States policy from that of other imperialist States.

Notable, however, as a sharp departure from previous practice in the territorial expansion of the United States, is the fact that in the treaty with Spain the inhabitants of the ceded territories were not, as in the territories previously acquired, "admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights . . . of citizens of the United States." Instead, the treaty declared that "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants . . . shall be determined by Congress." Thus the United States was for the first time acquiring colonies, many of which, because of differences from America in race and culture, are incapable of assimilation into the Union as States. She was becoming in fact an imperial Power. However, she was far from realizing the vast implications of this new departure. Even now, a generation later, she is only beginning to understand vaguely something of her limitless opportunities and responsibilities.

III

The foreign relations of the United States as a world Power may logically be analysed under five general divisions: The Caribbean and South America; the Pacific; China and Japan; Europe; and Steps Towards a World Organized for Peace.

The Caribbean and Latin America. All of Latin-America's latent fear of "Yankee Imperialism" was fanned into a flame of violent denunciation by President Roosevelt's seizure in 1901 of the Panama Canal Zone. Sophisms aside, the United States must stand adjudged guilty of violation of international law and equity. That her people were not unconscious of the fact was shown by the

movement begun under President Taft to compensate Colombia. Finally, after ardent advocacy by President Wilson, \$25,000,000 (£5,000,000) was paid to her during President Harding's Administration.

A few years later, again in connection with the Panama Canal, the United States showed its willingness to right an international wrong. During the Taft administration a measure was forced through Congress exempting American coast-wise shipping from the payment of dues in the Canal Zone. This was asserted by the British, and believed by most American students, to be an evident violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which specifically provided for equality of charges for the vessels of "all nations." President Wilson argued persuasively for the repeal of this exemption on the high ground of international comity. After a long debate, Congress in June, 1914, complied with this request and thus removed the reproach of treaty-breaking.

The chronic turbulence and instability of certain of the Central American and Caribbean States has been the occasion for a disquieting extension of United States control southwards. Successively in Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Honduras, revolution or insolvency, threatened or actual, have been followed by United States intervention. The United States has now withdrawn its forces from Santo Domingo and Nicaragua. There have been, in addition, interventions in Panama and Cuba authorized under treaties entered into by these two "protectorates." Moreover, hostile critics assert that American financial interests either dominate or seek to dominate Salvador, Colombia, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Mexico. In the last four countries named there have been no United States financial agents in control either directly or indirectly.

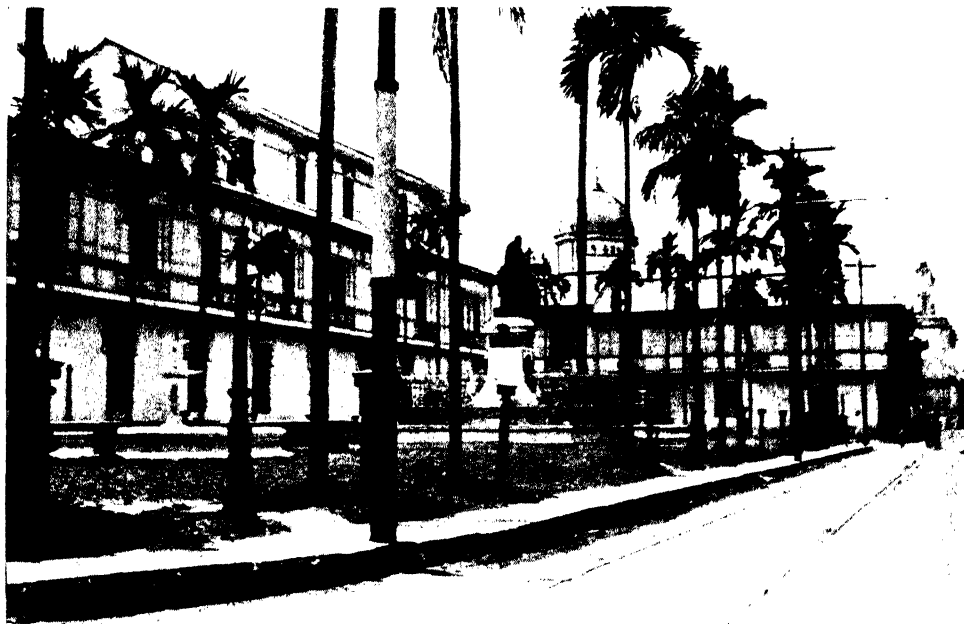
In the countries where governmental intervention has taken place, it has sometimes been merely diplomatic, more often it has been covertly or avowedly military. This "creeping down the Caribbean" has been bitterly resented by the inhabitants of the countries directly concerned. It has been the basis of satirical denunciations of the "Yankee Peril" and Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy throughout all Latin-America; while in the United States it has been sharply criticized as "dollar diplomacy" and an abuse of the rights of small nations and the principle of self-determination. The government's defenders



A NATIVE VILLAGE IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.



THE UNIVERSITY HALL BUILDING AT MANILA, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.



THE SQUARE, MANILA, THE CAPITAL OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.



PHILIPPINE ISLANDERS IN FETE-DAY COSTUME.

reply: Obstinate disregard of national obligations, pecuniary and otherwise; interminable disorder and bloodshed; and consequent repeated flagrant violations of the rights of foreigners, are intolerable. The Monroe Doctrine discourages if it does not forbid armed intervention by European Powers to protect the rights of their nationals. Hence as the only alternative, the United States must exercise "an international police power."

Power is so easily abused. The influence of the United States in destroying the Central American Court of Justice which had been largely its own creation is a particularly flagrant example of the misuse of power. It happened thus. For years following President Taft's administration Nicaragua, as a result of the usual revolutionary difficulties and as a means of protecting American and other financial interests, was "supervised" by a small garrison of the United States marines at the capital and a warship in the port. William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, in 1916 negotiated a treaty with the government kept in power by United States forces by which it agreed to sell the United States the right to the San Juan river as a new canal route and the right to a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca. Costa Rica protested that Nicaragua did not have exclusive rights over the San Juan river. Salvador entered a similar protest in reference to the Gulf of Fonseca. The two protesting States took their case to the Central American Court of Justice. The decision was in favour of Costa Rica and Salvador, but Nicaragua ignored this decision against her. The United States, not subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, did nothing to persuade Nicaragua, whose government it then controlled, to abide by the Court's decision. Costa Rica and Salvador—and the Court—were helpless. The Court soon ceased to exist.

It should be added that a new Central American Court was set up in 1923, largely through the influence of the United States. It is modelled on the Hague Court of Arbitration. Also new treaties, based on the principles of the so-called Bryan treaties, were ratified by the United States with the Central American States in 1925. These provide for submission of differences which may arise to commissions of inquiry.

Apart from isolated and obvious acts of injustice, is the extra-legal exercise of international police power Christian? On this there is no agreement. The majority answer is: Yes, provided the motive

is unselfish. Such intervention, honestly and efficiently carried out, does not degenerate into a cloak for selfish economic interests, but rather it becomes a means towards the physical and spiritual rehabilitation of the native population. When this has been achieved, intervention will be ended as in the case of Santo Domingo in 1924. But a vigorous minority replies: No, it is illegal and unjust, and hence un-Christian. Economic imperialism is the basic root of war. The United States, by its Caribbean policy, is gradually enmeshing itself in many of the worst imperialistic practices.

It is excessively difficult to appraise fairly the relations between the United States and Mexico in recent times. The Mexican people, oppressed for centuries by Spain continued, even after nominal independence was gained early in the nineteenth century, to be the pawns of selfish political, economic and ecclesiastic interests. Revolution followed revolution until Diaz established his "enlightened dictatorship," which successfully maintained peace for a long period. Unfortunately, the vast physical developments of the Diaz régime—the building of railways, waterworks, electric light plants, the opening of the mines and the oil wells, the influx of foreign capital, the maintenance of a stable currency, and gilt-edged national credit—did little or nothing to ameliorate the wretched ignorance and the poverty and servile dependence of the Mexican masses.

The history of Mexico from the overthrow of Diaz in 1911 until to-day has been the struggle of a new type of revolutionary leader to lift the people towards political and economic democracy. In this effort the property and lives of foreigners, many of them Americans, some of whom were guilty directly or indirectly of encouraging counter-revolutionary activities, were frequently jeopardized or destroyed. As a result, during this period the relations between the two countries have usually been strained and sometimes broken off altogether. Despite, however, what are, according to customary standards, considered to be grave and repeated provocations, the United States has avoided, except in two instances, any substantial use of force. But its Government has frequently used other forms of pressure, moral, diplomatic and financial, to secure the acceptance of its own interpretation of Mexico's obligations. After more than ten years of friction, an honourable basis of settlement of outstanding differences was reached in 1923.

Since then new difficulties have arisen. But friendly relations between the two peoples are not likely now to be endangered. Extreme agrarian and labour radicalism in parts of Mexico will probably continue to supply to the reactionary economic imperialists with interests or hopes in Mexico occasions for demanding intervention. But steadily the American people are coming to understand and sympathize with Mexico's courageous attempt to lift the appalling dead weight of illiteracy and economic dependence which now crushes her people. Once this sympathy and understanding are widespread, the United States will see that a policy towards Mexico concerned solely with protection of the interests of American citizens is woefully inadequate and un-Christian. Then we may confidently hope to see the recognition by the United States Government of the elementary principle of justice: that the Mexican people should be encouraged to share in the fruitful development of their incalculably rich natural resources. It will be ready for a lofty yet practicable programme of Christian neighbourliness.

In the light of the troubled relations of the United States with Latin-America, what of Pan-Americanism? The conception of a community of interests and ideals adequate to drawing together the States of the Western hemisphere is a beautiful aspiration, but as yet it is little more. Differences of language, race, religion, cultural background and political and ethical standards all tend to separate the United States from her Latin neighbours. In all these vital aspects of their lives, they are vastly more like the Latin races of Europe than like the American people. Even from the point of view of physical distances, many South Americans feel themselves nearer to Europe than to the United States. Pan-American conferences, the Pan-American Union, the interchange of visits by distinguished statesmen and scholars, do something to break down the deep-seated barriers between the North and the South. Statements of Latin-American policy, such as the following by Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State, in August, 1923, are helpful:

"We are aiming not to exploit, but to aid; not to subvert, but to help in laying the foundations for sound, stable, and independent government. Our interest does not lie in controlling foreign peoples; that would be a policy of mischief and disaster. Our interest is in having prosperous, peaceful, and law abiding neighbours, with whom we can co-operate to mutual advantage."

But not until, by her actions, the United States dispels the Latin-American fear of "Yankee Imperialism" will there be any chance for the essentially Christian ideals of Pan-Americanism to become realities.

IV

The Far East. Towards eastern Asiatic problems the United States has followed a singularly consistent policy. This has been twofold: (1) the Open Door—the demand for equality of commercial opportunity, particularly in China and Japan; (2) the Closed Door—opposition to Asiatic immigration culminating in absolute exclusion. As Tyler Dennett, one of the most thorough students of this field of American policy, has shown, though these two aims have been constant, the methods of achieving them have varied so greatly as to give a false appearance of varying objectives.

We think of the Open Door policy as one of altruism and self-denial. This is far from the truth. In essence, that policy was initially, and has remained, a demand for "most-favoured-nation" treatment. That is, the United States has insisted that rights, other than territorial, gained by foreign Powers for their citizens in China, be granted also to citizens of the United States. At first concerned almost solely with commercial equality, the United States Government now utilizes this highly adaptable principle to claim equality of political influence also.

This enlargement of American claims in the Orient has been paralleled by the tightening of restrictions on Asiatic immigration into the United States. Moreover, several Western States have passed discriminatory legislation against their Oriental residents, in some cases affecting those who are American citizens. Of course in the Orient it is not understood that the Federal Government is not responsible for such legislation and has no power to over-ride it except when it is declared unconstitutional. Such discrimination added to the American policy of exclusion has done much to weaken the moral prestige of the United States in the Far East.

Moreover, the Pacific policy of the United States Government has not always been conciliatory. Jointly with European Powers and singly it has used military pressure against both China and Japan. It has been well said, "Americans in Eastern Asia do not enjoy a single privilege which was not originally secured either by intima-



MEXICO CITY : THE CATHEDRAL IS ON THE LEFT, AND THE NATIONAL PALACE ON THE RIGHT.



NATIVES OF MEXICO : HUMBLE AND HARD-WORKING.



THE PLAZA AT SAN JUAN, THE CAPITAL OF PORTO RICO.



WORKERS ON A SUGAR PLANTATION IN PORTO RICO, WEST INDIES.

tion or by territorial aggression." In most cases they did not use force or seize territory; they merely demanded from China and Japan equality of treatment with that granted under pressure to the other Powers. They insisted on sharing the spoils, but with just a tinge of self-righteousness kept themselves aloof from the actual spoliation. This policy, even though through it they may have impeded the dismemberment of China, scarcely deserves the name Christian.

There are, however, other considerations which in fairness should not be overlooked. By the remission of portions of three indemnities, that of 1858 to China; that of Shimonoseki to Japan in 1863, and that exacted as payment for the Boxer uprising, the United States Government has differentiated its policy from a too common ruthlessness of Christian nations. Moreover, nothing has been accomplished towards the amelioration of conditions in China, or for the betterment of the relations between China and the Powers, in which the United States has not had an active part, often that of leadership.

The Washington Conference. The Washington Conference, 1921, due largely to the initiative and courage of Charles Evans Hughes, offered an opportunity for reconsideration of all the relations between the Powers and China, with a view also to the removal of the increasingly disquieting misunderstandings in reference to the Pacific. The results were encouraging. The Four-Power Treaty made possible the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance which had been an obstacle to better relations between the United States and Great Britain, and between the United States and Japan. The two Nine-Power Treaties and the resolutions in reference to China gave hope of the early elimination of the worst abuses of extra-territoriality and of the other forms of control in China.

These hopes have not yet been realized. The temporarily improved relations with Japan, made more cordial by the generous assistance of American people after the earthquake of 1923, were rudely and unnecessarily jeopardized by Congress less than a year later. Its insistence that Japanese immigrants must be excluded, not by courteous and inoffensive diplomatic arrangements, as was most earnestly urged by Mr. Hughes, but by Congressional fiat, outraged Japanese sensibilities. Thus by a single arbitrary action, one of the most important achievements of the Washington Conference was endangered, if not undone.

Across the Yellow Sea conditions grew steadily worse. The Washington treaties and resolutions, through which the Powers pledged themselves to work with China for the rectification of the more obvious wrongs imposed upon her, did not become effective, because of non-ratification by France, until July, 1925. Continued political disorders in China, jealousy and differences of interests among the Powers, due to a deep-seated unwillingness to surrender their extraordinary privileges, prevented until midsummer, 1925, any co-operative effort (except that of the Consortium, which effectively prevented political loans to the Chinese war lords) to ameliorate a desperate situation. Even then the Powers were not stirred to action until the outbreak at Shanghai awakened the sluggish conscience of the Christian world.

In the meantime, China is awakening to a sense of the injustices perpetrated against her. American ideals of government and of social life are having great influence. Nationalism now grows apace. A fast-spreading movement is developing for the repudiation of all the special privileges wrung from her by the Powers. China no longer in the old way fears or respects the foreigner. This process of disillusionment, begun before and during the World War, has been accelerated since the peace. The resulting new attitude, which frequently borders on contempt, extends even among the rank and file beyond the cities and the treaty ports into the hinterland. It threatens to weaken, if not destroy, the work of generations of Christian missionaries. It attacks the Christian school as centres of foreign influence.

Certainly here is a grave challenge to Christian statesmanship.

The World War. Until the World War the United States, with rare exceptions, kept herself aloof from purely European quarrels. The few occasions in which her Government took part officially in conferences of the Powers only tended to emphasize her general practice of abstention. But the tragedy at Sarajevo changed all this. Immediately, vital interests of the United States became involved. Both groups of belligerents impinged more and more on the rights of non-belligerents until by the spring of 1917 most of the important neutral rights had ceased to be respected.

In the meantime the American people, appealed to by every con-

ceivable form of propaganda, weighed their fateful decision. Who shall say whether that decision was or was not Christian? Certainly, the overwhelming mass of the American people had come to believe that no less was at stake than civilization itself. Believing that, was it their duty to support "the right" against "evil incarnate"? The pacifist returns an unequivocal No; the answer of the majority is Yes. However, as disillusionment has replaced the enthusiasm and fervour of war-time, more and more Americans doubt that organized slaughter can ever contribute in any final sense towards righteousness and peace among men.

President Wilson's nobly expressed idealism gave him, during the last year of the war, a dominant leadership of the moral forces of the world. But the Armistice unloosed the passions of national greed, partisanship and personal vindictiveness. The Fourteen Points, which had been accepted before the Armistice by both the Allies and the Central Powers as the basis for the peace, were violently attacked after Germany surrendered as visionary and unjust to the victors. The treaties finally imposed by the Allies in many respects violated the terms on which the vanquished had laid down their arms. One of the most flagrant of these violations was the inclusion in the Reparation costs assessed against Germany of items of more than doubtful legality which doubled the total of her obligations.

The profound single achievement of the Peace Conference was the League of Nations. President Wilson thought this more than sufficient to compensate for all the compromises he was forced to accept. He saw in it the hope of the world, a step of vast importance towards a world organized for peace. But his political and personal enemies, the disaffected racial groups, those who sincerely believed the Treaty to be iniquitous and the League impotent or entangling, all joined forces and, taking advantage of the President's strategic mistakes, defeated ratification. Then the Harding Administration negotiated and secured ratification of the separate Treaty with Germany. This gave the United States, in so far as Germany could do so, all the rights it would have had under the Treaty of Versailles. Here again, as so frequently in the Far East, the United States claimed and secured equality of advantages without assuming commensurate obligations.

VI

Towards a World Organized for Peace. During the nineteenth century the problems of world organization did not concern the United States. Her people asked only that they be permitted to work out their "manifest destiny" on the Western continent and that elsewhere their essential interests be not jeopardized. None the less, the United States contributed substantially towards the practices and theory of the pacific settlement of international disputes. Beginning with the Jay Treaty of 1794, she has a long and honourable record of important controversies submitted to arbitration. Her relations with Canada have been a model of two nations, despite a common border of more than three thousand miles, living side by side amicably with none of the expense or dangers incident to frontier fortifications and armaments. She has urged consistently a liberal and enlightened interpretation of international law, seeking, except when she herself was a belligerent, as during the Civil War, to widen the scope of neutral rights. So far, indeed, had this process gone that by the beginning of the twentieth century many students of international relations were optimistic enough to believe that only the further extension of neutral rights was necessary in order gradually to abolish belligerent rights and ultimately war itself.

The two Hague Conferences, 1899 and 1907, demonstrated the earnest desire of the executive branches of the Government to build constructively. John Hay, Secretary of State, in his instructions to the United States delegates at the first conference, admirably summed up his and President Roosevelt's enlightened programme: "The duty of sovereign States to promote international justice by all wise and effective means is only secondary to the fundamental necessity of preserving their existence. Next in importance to their independence is the great fact of their interdependence. . . . The long continued and widespread interest among the people of the United States in the establishment of an International Court gives assurance that the proposal of a definite plan of procedure by this Government for the accomplishment of this end would express the desires and aspirations of this nation."

As the result, in no small part, of the United States delegates' excellent work, the first Conference recommended arbitration "in questions of a judicial character and especially regarding the inter-



THE CONQUERORS: CULEBRA CUT, PANAMA CANAL.

By JONAS LIE.

(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

pretation of treaties"; adopted a code of arbitral proceedings; committed the signatory Powers, before resorting to war, to seek the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly and neutral Powers; and adopted, based on a combination of the American and British plans, the so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration. This last, though marking a great advance, was far from what Hay had hoped for. It was merely a panel or list of available judges. As might have been expected, it has had no continuity and is in no real sense a court.

The Second Hague Conference, though nominally called by the Tsar, was primarily due to the initiative of President Roosevelt. Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, in his instructions to the United States delegates, like Hay eight years earlier, outlined cogently a praiseworthy programme. The delegates were always to be mindful that the object of the Conference was "agreement and not compulsion"; they were to seek to limit the use of force as a means of collecting debts owed by one Government to the nationals or Government of another; they were to strive to increase the scope of arbitration; and most important of all, they were to bring about, if possible, "a development of the Hague tribunal (the so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration) into a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility. These judges should be so selected from the different countries that the different systems of law and procedure and the principal languages shall be fairly represented. The Court should be made of such dignity, consideration and rank that the best and ablest jurists will accept appointment to it and that the whole world will have absolute confidence in its judgments."

A draft plan for the organization, jurisdiction and procedure of such a court was accepted in plenary session, but the Conference was unable to agree upon a method of naming the judges. The great Powers could not accept the contention of the smaller nations that each State should be represented by one judge. On this rock the whole proposal foundered. Not until fifteen years later, again with the assistance of Mr. Root, was the idea brought to complete fruition in the establishment of the Permanent Court of International

Justice. The utilization of the League of Nations for electoral purposes—the Assembly as representative predominantly of the small States, and the Council as representative more adequately of the larger Powers—ended the previously unbroken deadlock and gave to the world its first system of international judiciary.

During the interim between the two Hague Conferences, President Roosevelt negotiated (1904) a number of general arbitration treaties. These were so drafted that under each an indefinite number of cases might be referred to judicial settlement without requiring, as was necessary under most of the then existing arbitration treaties, senatorial ratification in each individual case. Though these treaties specifically excepted from the requirement of arbitration all questions affecting "the vital interests, the independence, and the [national] honour" of the States concerned, and thus manifestly restricted narrowly the arbitral obligation, the Senate insisted upon amendments which would have required senatorial ratification before any case could go to an arbitral court. President Roosevelt, convinced that these amendments destroyed the purpose of the treaties, refused to accept them. The Senate thus blocked a small but encouraging step forward.

In 1911 President Taft tried to go even further. Under the terms of two treaties negotiated with France and Great Britain, all future differences between the contracting parties involving a "claim of right," and "justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law and equity," were to be submitted to arbitration. Provision was also made for a joint commission to determine, if this were necessary, whether in any given case a difference was "justiciable." These treaties received from the Senate the same summary treatment accorded the more modest efforts of President Roosevelt. They were so drastically amended that President Taft abandoned them. Here again the Senate blocked a constructive international proposal.

Analysing the results of these and similar successful efforts of the Senate to limit the scope of arbitral procedure, and comparing the resulting recent American practice with that set up in the Jay Treaty of 1794, John Bassett Moore, in an address delivered in 1914, but equally applicable to-day, dryly observed: "As we are somewhat prone to boast of leading the van in the cause of peace, it may

be worth our while to consider whether we should not gain a position far in advance of that which we now hold if we were to recur to the practice we followed a hundred and twenty years ago."

Warned perhaps by his predecessors' unfortunate experience with emasculating senatorial amendments to arbitration treaties, President Wilson and William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, worked out a different approach. It is commonly called the Bryan "peace plan." This was to provide that all questions whatsoever, which failed of settlement by diplomacy, should be submitted to an international commission for investigation and report, pending whose consideration war should not be declared or hostilities begun. A year was suggested as the time to be allowed for an investigation and report. By the beginning of 1924 ratification of treaties embodying this plan had been exchanged with thirty States.

Theoretically admirable, these Bryan treaties have been little used. Much more immediately significant was the limitation of naval armament effected by the Washington Conference in 1922. Mr. Hughes's unconventional frankness and daring in outlining a detailed radical programme in reference to Dreadnoughts won him the enthusiastic support of peace lovers not only in the five countries directly affected, but throughout the world. The acceptance by the United States, Britain and Japan, France and Italy of a definite ration for capital ships was a significant gain. It is true that cruisers were not limited as to number, nor were submarines restricted either as to size or number, and aeroplanes were not restricted at all. It has, therefore, been frequently argued that the limitation agreed upon was really futile, that it restricted only the "obsolete" machines of war and left the Powers free to indulge in unlimited rivalry in the building of the more effective modern engines of destruction—submarines and aeroplanes.

This criticism, as events since the Conference have shown, contains a significant measure of truth, but it tends to ignore two important facts:

(1) Competitive naval building had previous to the Conference been primarily in Dreadnoughts. The agreement to cease building these mammoth floating forts immediately relieved the international tension, notably between the United States and Japan.

(2) Though seriously incomplete, this limitation was the first tangible step towards disarmament since the World War.

But, unfortunately, it was an isolated attempt. The Conference made no provision for its reassembling to consider the problem again in the light of new conditions when perhaps disarmament could be carried further. Nor did the Conference provide the means of assuring the execution of the agreements reached. As a result, charges and counter-charges of bad faith exchanged by the jingoes of Japan and the United States threatened for a time to stimulate a new outburst of competitive building.

VII

Obviously neither the United States nor any other country is to-day following consistently Christian standards. The record of the American people, better in many respects than that of other great Powers, is none the less sadly marred by acts of unfairness and injustice.

Many acts, however, which at first glance appear to fall into this category can often be explained and sometimes justified by the basic truism that statesmen are frequently forced to accept one of two or more alternatives, no one of which seems to permit strict adherence to a Christian standard. Therefore, before criticizing any particular policy or action of the United States Government as unworthy, one must always stop to consider what the alternative actions or policies were. Only thus can gross unfairness of judgment be avoided.

The United States has been fortunate in the number of its statesmen with a fine vision of their country's opportunity and obligations to contribute towards world organization. John Hay, Elihu Root and Woodrow Wilson each had a large conception of America's duty and each formulated concrete and brilliant yet practicable policies. But their finest and most far-reaching plans were thwarted by men of no vision or with a narrow provincial conception of America. The division of responsibility between the Senate and the President for the control of foreign affairs makes obstruction easy, aiding powerfully those who would play upon the fears and selfishness of the people.

These nationalists and "little Americans" have, however, gained their devastating victories primarily because the Americans as a nation have been anxious to demand equality of privileges while loath to assume commensurate responsibilities. They have been



A NATIVE CORNER OF NICARAGUA, THE LARGEST OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS.



BULLOCK CARTS IN NICARAGUA.



THE RISING GENERATION IN NICARAGUA.



DR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, PRINCIPAL OF
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.



NEGRO GIRLS' BASKET CLASS AT TUSKEGEE
INSTITUTE, ALABAMA, U.S.A.



NEGRO WORKERS IN THE MACHINE SHOPS
AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.



THE MEMORIAL TO BOOKER T. WASHINGTON,
THE FAMOUS NEGRO EDUCATOR.

more anxious about their rights than about their duties, more concerned that no advantage be taken of them than that they do not take advantage of others. This selfishness is the more un-Christian in a people as powerful and opulent as they.

The people of the United States have been and are inclined to be self-righteous. They think of Europe as quarrelsome, militaristic and constantly preparing for new wars. They think of themselves as peaceful, devoted to arbitration and opposed to the use of force. They forget that the basic difference between themselves and Europeans is not that they are better than the latter, but that they are more fortunate. Secure to a unique degree, they do not appreciate their blessings. Europe, painfully insecure, feels poignantly the need of defence. The Americans have weak neighbours to the north and the south and the two great oceans to the east and west. Every European State is within easy striking distance of a potential enemy. Until the people of the United States are prepared to admit that the differences between themselves and Europeans are those of circumstance and not of moral qualities, they will be unprepared to play a fitting rôle in world affairs.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LAW OF NATIONS

BY PROFESSOR J. L. BRIERLY, M.A., B.C.L.

The so-called international law of the modern world has been scarcely more than a collection of usually admitted customs and traditions, of little binding power even in times of peace and quite unenforceable in the event of war. To the Christian conscience such a state of affairs is intolerable; every Christian sympathy is enlisted for the development of a genuine code that may become enforceable between nations as national law has become between citizens.

THE Law of Nations, or International Law, is a body of doctrine which regulates the conduct of civilized States in their relations with one another. The system is essentially modern, for, although some of its rules were observed in mediæval times and even earlier, its fundamental assumptions have been determined by the characteristics of the modern State system. The mediæval ideal of Christendom as a political unity survived as an influence on political thought long after history had demonstrated the improbability of its realization; and it was not until the political revolution, which is one side of the Reformation movement, had run its course, that there emerged the modern view of a world divided for purposes of government into sharply separated communities, each omnipotent within its own territory and independent of external control. In short, the Reformation brought into existence the facts, from which political thinkers developed the theory, of the "sovereign" or "independent" State; and it was in the necessity of escaping from the full implications of this theory that International Law had its origin. It is the modern form of, or at any rate the modern substitute for, the mediæval ideal of unity, for its very existence denies the absolute separateness and irresponsibility which are implicit in the doctrine of sovereignty, and asserts that States are members of a society in which each owes duties to the others. The doctrine of sovereignty was never a wholly true account

of the nature of the modern State; but it reflected the most conspicuous, if not the most permanent, political facts of the period in which it arose; it was strengthened by the long period of autocratic government which followed the Reformation in nearly every European State; and it still exercises an immense influence on the theory, and at intervals on the conduct, of international relations. One of the most urgent tasks of political science to-day is to separate what is true from what is false in the conception of the "sovereign" State, and thus to provide International Law for the first time with a sound philosophical foundation.

In origin International Law was a purely customary law, and much of it still so remains. Its rules, therefore, are ascertained by examining the conduct of States, in order to distinguish those international usages or practices which States in general recognize as obligatory, and which are therefore entitled to be regarded as rules of customary law, from those which they regard as matters for their free discretion. Such a test clearly does not admit of exact application; but customary law can never be formulated in precise and unambiguous propositions, and it is easy to exaggerate the contrast in point of precision between international and national law. Thus any act or declaration by a person entitled to act or speak in the name of a State, such as diplomatic correspondence, instructions to civil or military officials, judicial decisions, or opinions of law-officers, may be relevant evidence, for what it is worth, of the acceptance or non-acceptance of a suggested rule; whilst in recent times awards by international courts of arbitration and the judgments of the International Court of Justice described below have begun to create an international case-law by a process analogous to that by which the Common Law of England and the United States, itself purely customary in origin, was built up in the course of many centuries. Further text-writers on International Law render valuable service in elucidating its principles; for their researches into international practice enable them to testify to the general recognition or non-recognition of a rule, and their reasoning on debatable points may even lead to a modification of practice and thus indirectly to an actual development of the law. Lastly, despite the absence of an international legislature, the growth of International Law has been greatly accelerated in modern times by so-called law-making conventions, into which States have entered with the deliberate

purpose of regulating some matter of common interest by agreed rules; and this growing superstructure of "conventional" law is already beginning to bear a relation to the older customary law not unlike that which the Statute law of a country like England or the United States bears to its Common Law.

The writer who first set himself to treat the study of the rights and duties of States as a branch of juristic science was Albericus Gentilis, a Protestant exile from Italy who became professor of civil law at Oxford, and published a work entitled *De jure belli* in 1598; but the Dutch writer, Hugo Grotius, whose greater work *De jure belli ac pacis* was published in 1625, is more generally and on the whole rightly regarded as the founder of International Law. This work, of which the fundamental idea is that States are members of a society bound together by the supremacy of justice, is divided into three parts; the first inquires whether war can ever be justified; the second concludes in effect that there are only two "just" or "lawful" causes of war, defence of person or property, and punishment of offenders; the third considers what acts are permissible or forbidden in the conduct of war, and suggests humane modifications ("temperamenta") of what Grotius conceived to be the existing laws of war. Grotius treats of the law relating to peace only incidentally; for example, war being lawful in defence of territory, it is relevant for him to inquire how territory is acquired. And he has practically nothing to say of laws of neutrality, not as is sometimes suggested, because neutrality was not a status familiar in his day, but because it was repugnant to a system in which a cardinal idea was a legal distinction between lawful and unlawful war. The system of Grotius, however, despite the reverence which has since been paid to his name, has remained an ideal never yet realized in the law actually regulating the practice of States; for in the eighteenth century his essential distinction between lawful and unlawful war became a mere formula, retained in the theory of the subject more out of respect for tradition than for any other reason; whilst in the nineteenth century it disappeared even from theory, and war came to be regarded by writers on International Law, as it had always been treated in practice, merely as a relationship which sovereign States might set up between themselves if they chose.

The interest of international lawyers and of statesmen when they



A GENERAL VIEW OF HAVANA, THE CAPITAL OF CUBA.



NATIVE GIRL WORKERS IN THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY, CUBA.



HUGO DE GROOT (GROTIUS), 1583-1645.

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concerned themselves with the development of International Law at all became concentrated in the course of the nineteenth century on attempting either to mitigate the horrors of war for the combatants, as in the Geneva Conventions of 1864 and 1906 for ameliorating the condition of the sick and wounded, the Declaration of St. Petersburg of 1868 against explosive bullets, and many similar conventions, or to reduce its inconveniences in favour of neutrals, as in the Declaration of Paris of 1856 with regard to blockade and contraband trading, and the unratified Declaration of London of 1909 with regard to maritime warfare in general. Yet the crucial test for International Law must surely lie in its capacity, not merely to provide palliatives for the evil effects of war when one breaks out, but to establish the Grotian distinction between lawful and unlawful war; and this it can only hope to do by so organizing the normal relations of States that disputes will be less likely to occur than they are at present, and that when they do occur they shall if possible be settled by peaceful methods.

The idea of developing the International Law of peace by purposive international action, instead of merely allowing it to grow by the slow and uncertain growth of customary practice, is very recent. The first instance of such an attempt is to be found in the somewhat half-hearted provisions agreed upon at the Congress of Vienna, 1815, for the regulation of navigable international rivers; but it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the experiment was repeated, and even then it was the logic of facts rather than any new theory of international relations that supplied the impetus. For it became apparent in an ever-increasing number of those departments of life with which governments are concerned that even moderately effective administrative action was no longer possible on a purely national basis. This was perhaps most obvious in the matter of those international communications upon the maintenance of which the very existence of modern civilization depends. Thus the question of the freedom of river navigation was taken up again in the Treaty of Paris, 1856, which not only asserted in principle the right of all States, riparian or not, to equal treatment, but set a precedent of the greatest importance for making that right effective by establishing a real international control of navigation on the Danube. Before the institution of the European Commission of the Danube the several national governments which controlled different

stretches of the river had succeeded in making its navigation almost impossible. The channels were neglected, the river was not properly policed, commerce was hampered by extortionate navigation dues; but out of this chaos the Commission has brought order and prosperity. The Telegraph Union was created in 1865, and the Universal Postal Union in 1878; and to-day the world is so accustomed to the smooth working of international posts and telegraphs that it is difficult to realize that the time is still recent when it was considered a patriotic duty to oppose proposals for international action in these fields.

There are numerous other departments of administration in which the attempt to promote purely national interests by isolated action has broken down, and States have reluctantly come to recognize that the business of government cannot in modern times be confined strictly within national boundaries. Thus the public health of all countries is obviously interdependent, since disease reckons nothing of customs-houses; crime is largely an international question, not merely in the sense that criminals in one country may escape to another, but because certain crimes, such as the white slave traffic, are actually organized on an international basis; sweating in industry, the employment of women and children, dangerous trades, and many other labour questions raise problems which are only capable of satisfactory solution by common international action; and all these matters became the subject of international regulation during the latter part of the nineteenth century with varying degrees of success. The method adopted has sometimes been to create a new international organ of government, as in the Telegraphic or the Postal Union or the Danube Commission, which has superseded the national governments in respect of a particular subject-matter; sometimes for the national governments to retain their powers of administration, but to bind themselves to exercise them in a particular uniform way; for example, extradition treaties have introduced a system of international co-operation for bringing criminals to justice; and sanitary conventions have provided for the obligatory international notification of certain diseases, and for a certain degree of uniformity in the laws of different nations relating to health.

The establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 created for the first time a permanent machinery by which this movement for the regulation of common international interests by common inter-

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national action can in future be carried on as a movement with a definite and conscious purpose; and it is no accident that the Covenant of the League entrusts it with the twofold purpose of "promoting international co-operation" and "achieving international peace and security." The organs of the League are the Assembly, on which every member State is represented; the Council, in which Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany are permanently represented, together with six other States elected annually by the Assembly; and the Secretariat, which is in effect an international civil service, keeping records, collecting and distributing information, and thus for the first time making it possible for international business to be conducted with proper preparation and reasonable continuity.

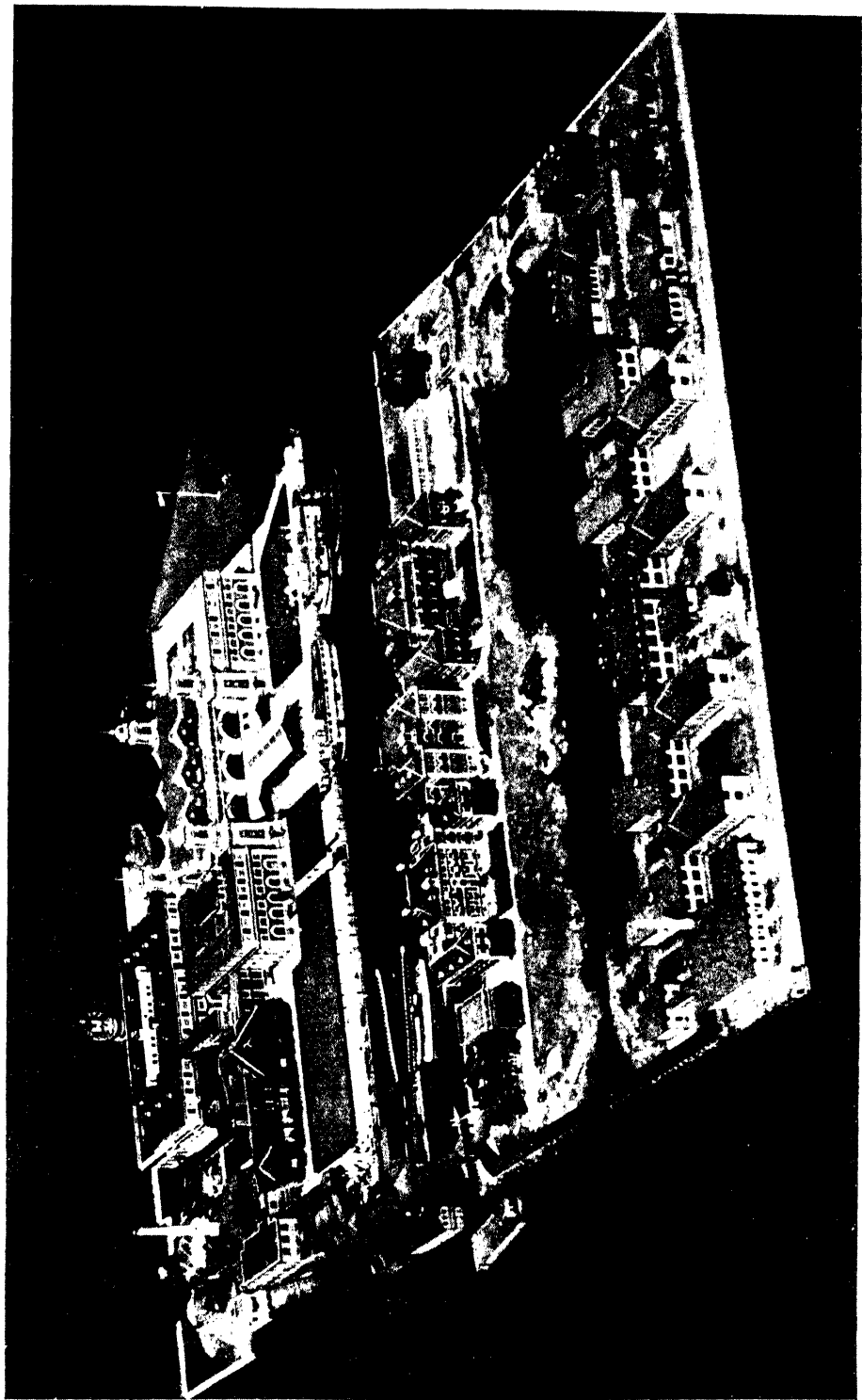
The relations between the Council and the Assembly, which the Covenant left almost undefined, are being worked out in practice. The Council is a smaller body, meets more frequently, and can act more promptly; there is consequently a tendency for the Assembly to concern itself with the discussion of general policy, and for the Council to deal with its execution, and also with sudden emergencies. The decision of either body must, with certain exceptions, be unanimous, but this limitation has hitherto affected their efficient working very little, mainly because the League is in no sense a super-State, and only in certain special cases is it competent to make any decision which imposes a definite obligation on one of its members. Moreover, the working of the League has already revealed two hitherto almost unsuspected factors in international affairs which also render the requirement of unanimity less important than might be expected; one is the vast extent of the common interests of States as soon as international problems are approached in an international spirit, and the other is the tremendous influence of international public opinion, now that for the first time a common platform has been provided for its expression. The Italian bombardment of Corfu in time of peace, in 1923, provided a dramatic and quite unexpected illustration of the strength of this new force in politics even when directed against a Great Power.

That part of the scheme of the League which relates to the settlement of international disputes is in effect an attempt to embody in institutional form the distinction between lawful and unlawful war which Grotius left an unrealized ideal. For the members agree

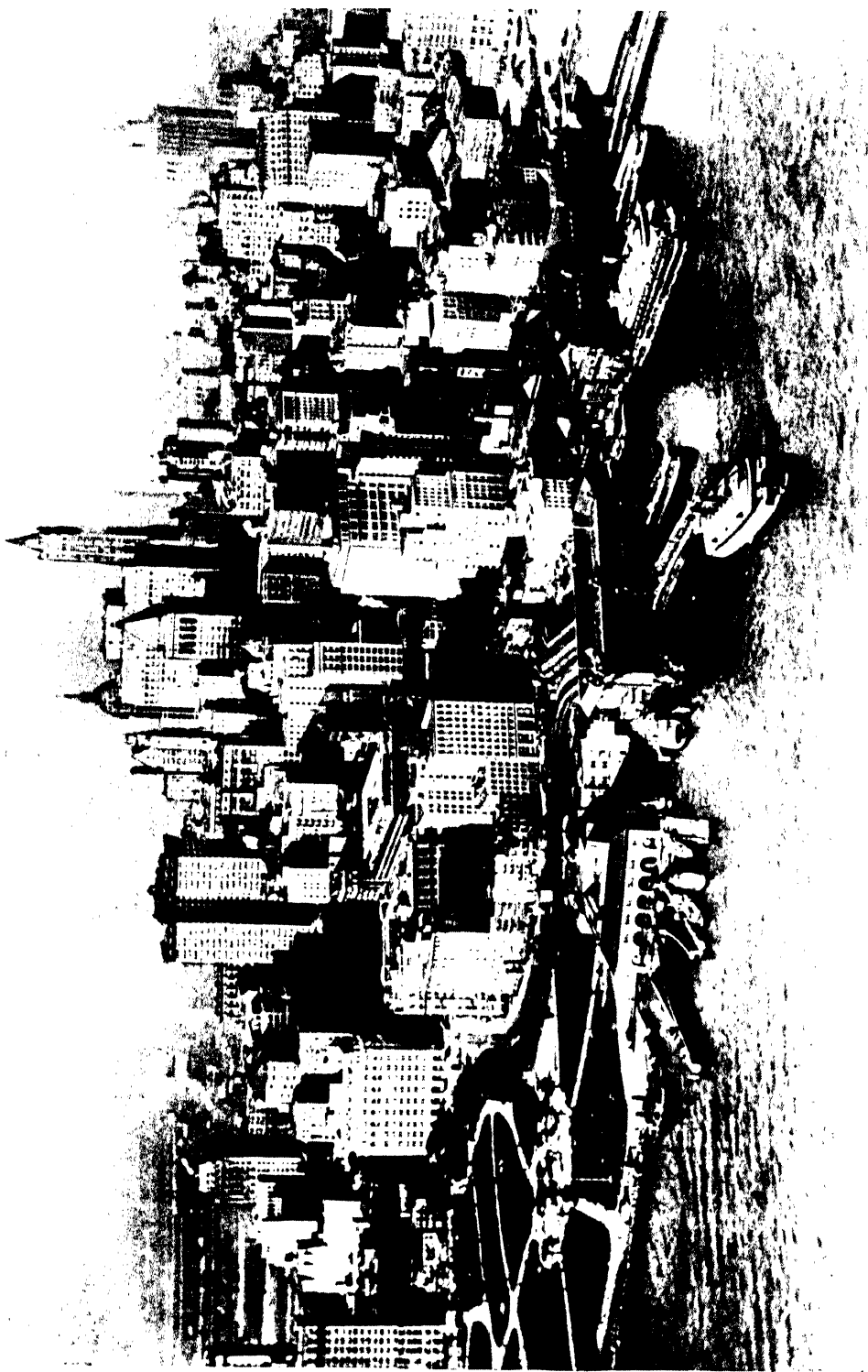
that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit it either to arbitration or judicial settlement, or to inquiry by the Council; and in the event of a State resorting to war without having adopted either of these alternative courses, it is deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members, which undertake to sever all trade and financial relations with it, and to prohibit all intercourse with residents in its territory. Further the Council may then recommend, though it cannot direct, that the members should contribute armed forces for the purpose of coercing the State which has illegally gone to war.

The League has hitherto had to work under two unforeseen disadvantages; firstly, the fact that machinery designed for normal times of peace has had to be applied to the clearing up of the chaos left after a great war; and secondly, the defection of the United States and the absence of Russia from its counsels. But its establishment has opened a new chapter in the history of the legal relations of States, which may not inaptly be entitled "the constitutional law of nations."

The judicial settlement of any dispute involves its submission to a tribunal, whose function is to find the rule of law applicable to the facts, and to pronounce judgment in accordance with such rule. The tribunal may either be one permanently organized, that is to say a court of justice, or it may be instituted for the purpose of deciding the particular dispute, that is to say a court of arbitration, each form having its advantages and disadvantages in the international, as it has in the national sphere. The merit of a permanent court of justice is that it can evolve a distinctive judicial tradition from which a coherent body of case-law can be gradually built up; its work is thus not merely to decide the particular disputes brought before it, but to facilitate the settlement of future disputes. On the other hand, if the parties desire a tribunal with specialist, rather than legal knowledge, or if they wish to avoid creating a precedent likely to be followed in future cases, they may prefer to resort to a court of arbitration. It is important to notice that the two forms of court are closely related forms of the same method of settlement; since an arbitrator is a judge, though he is a judge chosen by the parties for a particular occasion, and as such he is no less bound to apply legal rules than is the judge of a permanent court.



AN AERIAL VIEW OF ELLIS ISLAND, THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRANT STATION IN NEW YORK BAY.



AN AERIAL VIEW OF LOWER NEW YORK.

The Hague Conventions for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of 1899 and 1907 have now created a standing organization for arbitration, having its seat at the Hague, which has been utilized in most recent arbitrations. Under these Conventions each signatory power nominates not more than four qualified persons to a panel of arbitrators, from which, when a case for arbitration arises, the actual court before which the case will be heard is constituted. This is done by each party selecting two arbitrators, of whom only one may be its own national or its nominee on the panel, and these four arbitrators choose an umpire. Though the panel of persons ready to act as arbitrators is styled the "Permanent Court of Arbitration," it is in fact not a court at all; the court, which is a temporary and not a permanent one, comes into existence only for the purpose of a dispute when one arises. The Conventions also contain provisions regarding the procedure for the submission and the hearing of a dispute, which it is optional for the parties to adopt or not as they choose.

Side by side with this so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration there now exists the Hague Permanent Court of International Justice. Prior to the World War all attempts to create a truly permanent court had broken down over the difficulty of securing agreement on its constitution, the smaller Powers insisting, as the price of their consent, on a representation equal to that of the Great Powers. Such a claim, even if the Great Powers had been willing to entertain it, would have resulted in an impossibly unwieldy tribunal, and, moreover, there is implicit in it the dangerous doctrine that a judge ought to "represent" the State to which he belongs. In 1921, however, this difficulty was overcome by an ingenious device which utilizes the combined machineries of the Hague Court of Arbitration and of the League of Nations. Each of the national groups on the panel of the Court of Arbitration nominates not more than four qualified candidates, of whom not more than two may be fellow-nationals of their nominators, the object of this part of the procedure being to reduce the likelihood of candidates being put forward for political reasons, as might have happened if the nominations had been made by governments. From the list of candidates so made up the Council and the Assembly of the League each choose eleven judges and four deputy judges, any person chosen by both bodies being elected; if the two bodies

should fail to agree on all the places to be filled there are detailed provisions for avoiding a deadlock.

Although the machinery of the League is thus utilized in constituting it, the Court itself is entirely independent of the League, and it is open to all States, whether members of the League or not. Its jurisdiction is in principle voluntary, in the sense that it can deal only with disputes which the parties agree as occasion arises to refer to it; but there are already in force a considerable number of treaties which provide generally for the reference to the Court of all differences arising under them. Further, the Statute of the Court, i.e., the treaty under which it was constituted, contains an optional provision under which any State may accept the jurisdiction of the Court as compulsory in all or any of certain classes of disputes enumerated therein, and a large number of States have already accepted this obligation. Indeed, two Great Powers, Germany and Great Britain, have already been cited before the Court under the general provisions of treaties to which they were parties, and without having consented to the submission of the particular disputes.

The institution of an international court of justice to which the disputes of nations can at any time be referred is a notable landmark in the progress of International Law; but there is an important limitation of its usefulness which is inherent in the nature of all judicial settlement. For a judicial tribunal, whether a court of justice or of arbitration, is only capable of deciding disputes in which the parties are in conflict as to their respective *legal rights*, and in practice the disputes which are seriously dangerous to peace are not of that character. Any dispute between nations is a cause of friction, and it is well that it should be removed; but the disputes which are directly dangerous to peace are usually those in which States claim some advantage for themselves, generally the satisfaction of some political or economic interest, to which they are not entitled by any rule of law.

A dispute of this kind may occasionally be made suitable for judicial settlement if the parties are willing to agree on special rules to be applied by the court for its determination, even though such rules are not admitted rules of International Law. Thus before the "*Alabama* claims" of the United States against Great Britain were submitted to arbitration Great Britain in the Treaty of Washington, 1871, had agreed to be bound, for the purpose of the arbitration

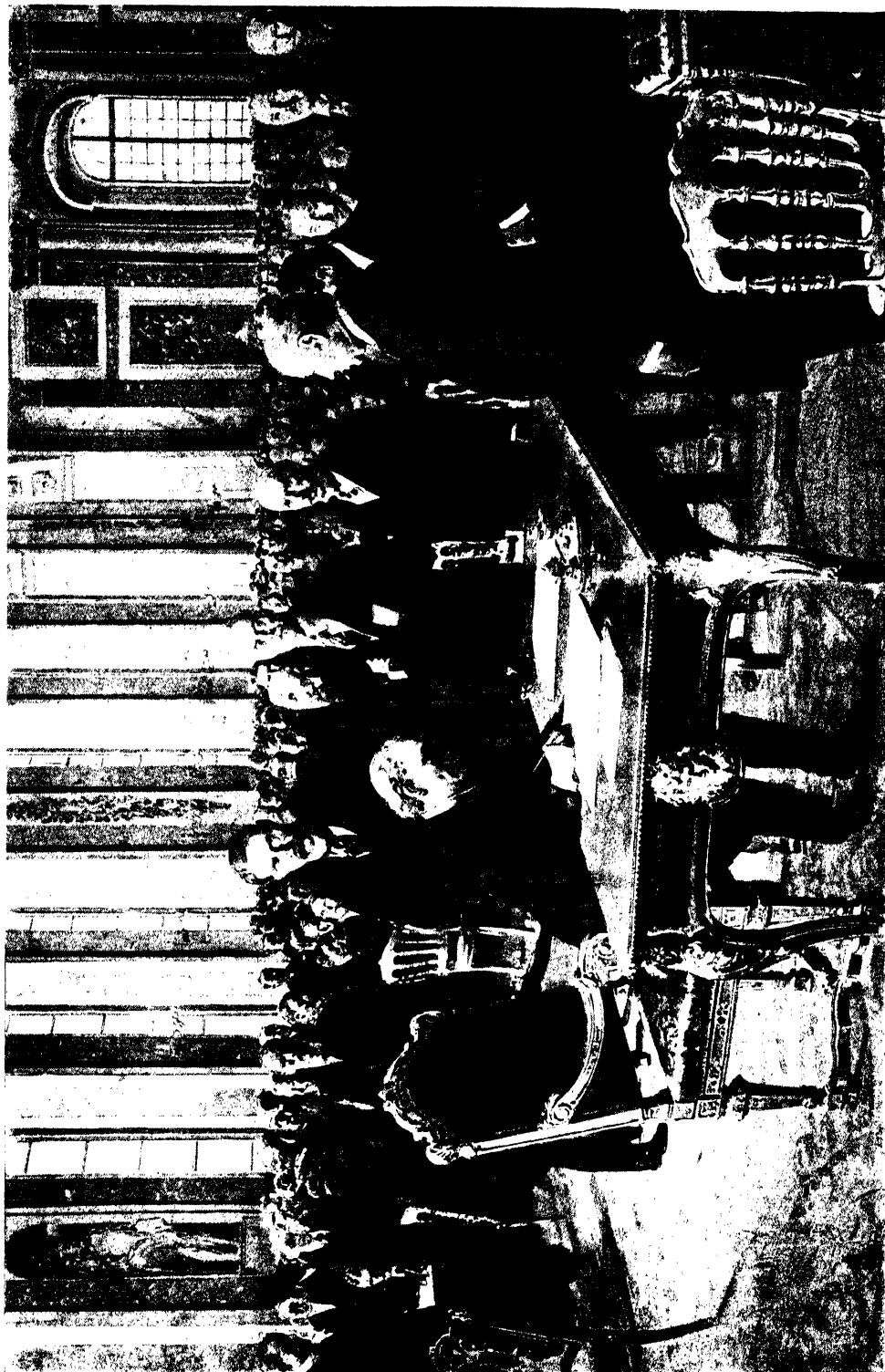
only, by certain rules regarding the duties of a neutral State in maritime warfare which she strenuously denied to be binding rules of law. The effective settlement of that embittered dispute was therefore due rather to the Treaty than to the subsequent arbitration proceedings, which in fact had little to do except to assess the amount of damages.

Disputes in which the claim is for something other than a legal right are commonly referred to as "non-justiciable" or "political"; and though they are never incapable of peaceable settlement if the parties have the will to settle them peaceably, they present a problem far more difficult of solution than the problem of "justiciable" or "legal" disputes, and they clearly cannot be settled by a procedure which can only inform the parties of something which is not in dispute between them, namely, that such and such are their respective *legal* rights in the matter. There is indeed no simple or scientifically certain method of solving the problem of non-justiciable disputes; but although in the last resort peace must depend on the presence of a conciliatory spirit on both sides, much can be done to induce such a spirit. Thus any scheme which causes delay and thereby allows excitement to cool down, or which marshals the public opinion of the world in favour of reasonable concessions by one or both sides, or which makes it easy for friendly and impartial third States to offer advice without offence, is of inestimable value. All these aids to a peaceful solution are afforded in the procedure of the Council of the League of Nations when a dispute is submitted to them, in preference to being submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement, under the provisions mentioned above.

International peace depends in the last resort on a spiritual reformation of the world; but in so far as peace can be embodied in an institutional form, it is certain that nothing would do more to assure it than an extension of the influence of International Law. Its comparative weakness at present does not, as is sometimes suggested, arise from the fact that it can be broken with impunity, for apart from the laws of war, which are relatively of slight importance, International Law is in fact broken very rarely; the establishment of regular and certain machinery for enforcing the existing law of peace would add hardly anything to its effective influence. A far more important cause of weakness lies in its present small extent, since far too many matters which are intrinsically inter-

national, in the sense that they touch the interests of more than one State, are still regarded, in deference to the theory of sovereignty, as matters upon which States are entitled to act as they please without regard to the effects of their action upon the interests of others. This means that of the whole domain of international relations only the smaller part is at present submitted to the regulating influence of law; in the larger anarchy prevails. The urgent task of the future lies, therefore, in the progressive annexation of more and more of the realm of international anarchy to that of law. Such a process, however, will involve sacrifices by every nation of its own special interests, far greater probably than any of them has yet realized. Especially it will involve the recognition of the international interest of many economic matters which have hitherto been regarded as the concern of a single State. Immigration, for example, is but one side of the larger question of the migration of population which is intrinsically one of international concern; in international commerce there is no such thing as an import into one country which is not also an export from another; and although all the raw materials of the world are locally situated within the territory of some particular State, that does not prevent them from being a vital necessity to industrialized States other than that in which they may be found.

If the world persists in excluding these and similar matters of common concern from the regulation of law, an assured international peace is impossible. Such a change of attitude towards International Law will involve too the recognition of law as something far more than a convenient device for the settlement of disputes, and as something too which cannot safely be left to be the concern of specialists. Its function, like that of medicine, is primarily preventive, and it can only play its part if it contains a rule of life by which individuals or States are content to regulate their conduct, not only in moments of crisis, but from day to day.





BOOK IV

THE RACES—

A CHALLENGE TO CIVILIZATION

While the nation is the largest organized community, the race is one of the largest unorganized communities and is generally possessed of a high self-consciousness. Racial and national lines rarely coincide; on the contrary they usually cut across each other in conflicting and confusing ways. This is particularly the case when two or more races are brought into the close contact which is the result of colonial rule or from the entry by immigration of groups of one race into the territory of another.

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XIX. THE COLONIAL PROBLEM

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CHAPTER XVII

CONTACTS OF OCCIDENT AND ORIENT

BY SIDNEY LEWIS GULICK, D.D.

The processes of political and cultural unification have been greatly accelerated in modern times. Science has abolished the physical barriers of oceans and mountains, so that the races and civilizations of the entire world are to-day facing each other and intermingling their respective achievements and characteristics with a new and inescapable intimacy.

MAN is to-day the most widely distributed of all living beings, owing to his powers of migration and of adaptation to every clime and habitat. His early migrations resulted in the formation of permanently separated groups. Segregated breeding within these groups through uncounted centuries, combined with the effects of climate and diverse habits of life, produced numberless varieties of families and tribes, and several general types or races, each with its own more or less distinct physiognomy, language, ideas, customs, religion and culture. These physical, social, and psychological distinctions of tribe and race on the one hand led to inter-tribal conflicts and on the other became the sources of suggestive stimulation and even of inspiration.

While the popular classification of the main races into white, black, brown, yellow and red has its justification, accurate observation shows that these colour lines signify little or nothing concerning the essential mental and moral characteristics of the races. Within each race, moreover, are many sub-races. The Zulu, Hottentot and Kaffir are more distinct from one another, though of the same general colour and "race," than are the Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean varieties of the "white race." There are numberless varieties of Slavs, Mongols, Malays and American Indians.

Divergent development, both physiological and cultural, was the main trend of man's life for many millenniums. During the past three or four thousand years, however, convergent development, especially in the realms of mental life and objective civilization, has been the

outstanding feature. Small tribes have been absorbed into larger groups; these have been fused into great nations. Strict segregation has passed away and inter-racial marriage has so far advanced that no "pure race" exists to-day. We are all more or less hybrid. The processes of political and cultural unification have been greatly speeded up in modern times and especially in recent decades. Science has abolished the physical barriers of oceans and mountains, so that the races and civilizations of the entire world are to-day facing each other and intermingling their respective achievements and characteristics with a new and inescapable intimacy.

Since before the dawn of history great invasions and migrations of one race into the territory of another have been common. Wave after wave of Caucasians has swept into Europe, into North Africa, into India, into the Americas, and even into the Far East. Asiatic culture and races have repeatedly invaded Europe and well-nigh overwhelmed her—Persians, Huns, Saracens, Moors, Turks.

But during the past four hundred years the white peoples of Europe have acquired an extraordinary ascendancy. They now control nine-tenths of the habitable area of the globe. In this process of expansion they little thought of the harm they brought and the wrongs they did to the peoples whose lands they invaded. They little realized the depth of indignation and the strength of wrathful resentment they were laying up for themselves.

Beginning with the twentieth century the problem of the white and yellow races entered a new phase. Japan's challenge to Russia and her amazing victories on land and sea (1904-5) were momentous in many ways. Japan proved the capacity of an Asiatic people to acquire the white man's knowledge and mastery of nature's titanic powers. She suddenly loomed before the peoples of Europe as a first-class Power, a new factor in world affairs, not to be despised or ignored. A new spirit, moreover, at once fired the people of Asia—a spirit of self-assertion, of ambition and of hope.

Asia then began with feverish zeal to acquire that Occidental knowledge by which Japan had placed herself in the forefront of the non-white races and had proved her ability to stand face to face with the white peoples of Europe. The Russo-Japanese War shattered the belief in the intrinsic mental superiority and military invincibility of the white race. The World War carried that reversal of view still further. The white man's civilization appeared to the



A CHINESE CONSULATE OFFICIAL.

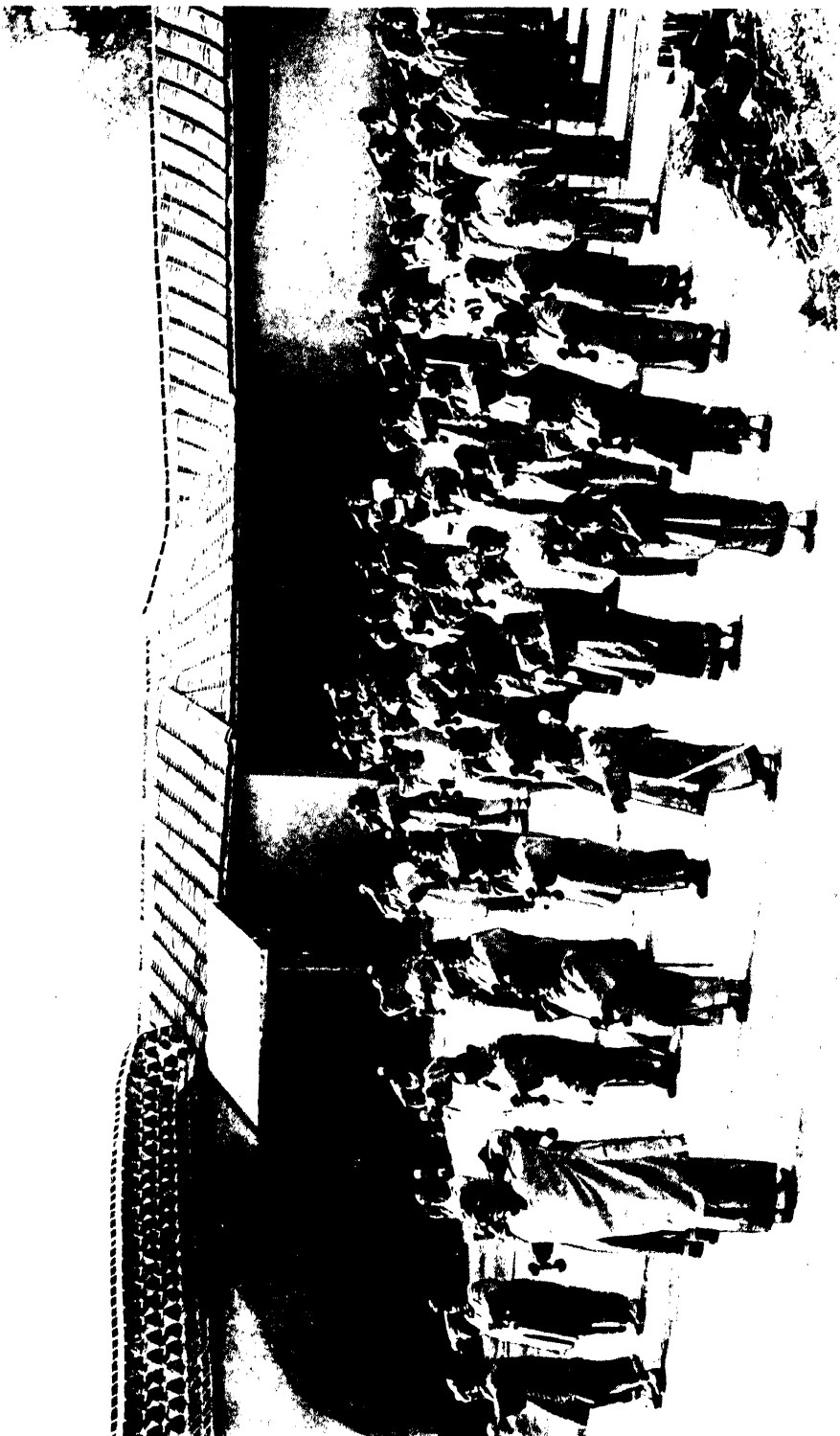


A TYPICAL CHINESE PHARMACY.



CHINATOWN IN SAN FRANCISCO.

CHINESE CHILDREN DR



astonished gaze of the entire world as weakened by inherent defects. Its gross materialism, brutal capitalism, aggressive imperialism, disregard for truth and justice, and lack of honour were suddenly revealed as in a moment by the lightning flashes of a great storm. All these experiences have generated new attitudes of thought and will in the relations of the races.

Not only has a great hope dawned on Asia, but deep misgivings have developed in Europe and America. The white nations are not so confident as formerly of themselves, of their intrinsic superiority or of their "manifest destiny" to own and rule the world.

Although white races had little considered the problems they had created for other races and cultures by their masterful aggressions, when immigrants from Asia began in considerable numbers to enter the white man's lands—the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa—the race problem assumed for the white man compelling interest and significance. The first phase of the problem was everywhere economic. Although employers of Asiatic labourers found them cheap, docile, efficient, reliable and altogether satisfactory as labourers, the competing white labourers found themselves confronted by intolerable economic conditions. In the silent battle of life they saw themselves doomed to defeat and destruction. The inexhaustible supplies of Asiatic labour became a source of positive terror. The economic struggle was soon transformed into one of race. Such slogans as the "white man's land" and "white Australia" found ready and wide acceptance. The alleged secret vices, immoralities, unscrupulousness, inscrutability, clannishness, unassimilability, and unmarriageability of Asiatics were successfully brought forward as psychological weapons with which to fight the economic conflict.

From every white man's land the complete exclusion of Asiatic immigrants was more or less rapidly achieved, not only as a fact but as a definite national policy. The full story of these discussions and political actions would fill many large volumes. We necessarily confine our statement of the historical and political situation to the barest outlines.

The discovery of gold in California (1849) brought the first Chinese immigrants to the United States. The tide soon became so great and the opposition so strong that by treaty arrangements with

China (1880) Chinese labour immigration was first suspended (1882) and later (1904) permanently stopped. Since 1882 Chinese in the United States have steadily diminished in number with each census period. Agricultural opportunities, revealed in the nineties of last century, in California lured Japanese labourers there, first in small numbers, and after 1900 in increasing numbers. In 1907 some 30,000 came to the United States in a single year. This resulted in anti-Japanese agitation, which led to the Gentlemen's Agreement (1908-24). This practically stopped all new Japanese labour immigration. The excess departures (21,869) of males during that period attest the rigid administration of the Agreement by the Japanese Government. But the excess arrival of females (41,920), allowed by the Agreement, and the development of families with the birth of thousands of children, led to fresh anti-Japanese agitation and finally to the enactment by Congress (1924) of an exclusion law. It abruptly abrogated the Agreement under conditions aggravating to the Japanese sense of honour and created tense strain in American-Japanese relations. This law excludes as "immigrants" all "aliens ineligible for citizenship," but permits Government officials, travellers, merchants, students, etc., to enter for temporary residence.

Chinese immigration to Canada quickly followed that to the United States. For many years it was controlled by imposing a heavy head tax; but in 1923 all Chinese immigration was forbidden save for specified classes for temporary residence. Japanese immigration to Canada, as to the United States, was unrestricted until 1907, when a Gentlemen's Agreement was made in preference to an exclusion law. Thenceforward the number annually admitted was 450 until 1923, when the number was reduced to 150.

It was the discovery of gold in Australia, also, which first induced Chinamen to emigrate to that land. But the different States soon began (1855 onward) to pass restrictive legislation. Since 1901 the "White Australia" policy has completely stopped all Asiatic immigration—Indian, Malay and Japanese, as well as Chinese. This is accomplished by a language test, immigrants being required to take dictation in any language determined by the inspector. No specified race or people is excluded by name. Immigration to New Zealand is controlled by a law which requires all non-British immigrants to obtain a special permit from the Minister of Customs, who

is authorized to exercise his discretion. Chinese immigrants are required to pay a poll-tax of £100 on entering.

Asiatic immigration in South Africa has consisted predominantly of East Indians. As in other countries, however, this soon aroused in the dominant white race fear and opposition and, in time, laws were enacted to prevent all immigration deemed undesirable. The law of 1913 defined prohibited immigrants as including "any person or class of persons deemed by the Minister, on economic grounds or on account of standards or habits of life, to be unsuited to the requirements of the Union or any particular province thereof," and "any person who is unable, by reason of deficient education, to read and write any European language to the satisfaction of the immigration officer."

Thus every land occupied or ruled by the white races, except Siberia, is completely closed to immigration from China, Japan, India, Melanesia and Polynesia. In reaching this situation discussions have taken place, laws have been passed and in many cases violence has been resorted to by the white race. Deep resentment and wrath have thus been created.

In his masterly treatment of the race problem, J. H. Oldham declares that "the problem of Oriental immigration and the attitude of the United States and the British Dominions towards it . . . are the most active and fruitful cause of racial misunderstanding and antagonism in the world to-day." America's rebuff of Japan gave to the old problem of the white and yellow races a new aspect, the full consequences of which may not be apparent for many years. For the past half-century America's treatment of and attitude toward Japan and China, in spite of certain evils, has had many admirable aspects. The political relations with these peoples of the Far East had been free from aggression or menace of every kind. Indemnities were returned to both China and Japan. Missionary, educational, and philanthropic activities and diplomatic relations worked mightily to remove misunderstanding, ill-will, prejudice and suspicion. Occidental learning, culture and religion were gaining extraordinary influence in those lands. It began to seem that the United States might effect a new world attitude in the mutual relations of the white and yellow peoples; but the new immigration law consolidated the race feeling of Asia and created a new world situation of incalculable possibilities.

AN OUTLINE OF CHRISTIANITY

The long smouldering agitation for a Pan-Asian unity, with a view to expulsion of the white man from all his dominating positions in Asia, has started afresh. Many include Russia in this Pan-Asian movement. The old race issue has thus taken on a new aspect. The final consequences will depend, of course, on the next steps in this world drama. If understanding, wisdom, patience and determined good-will prevail, and if the *amour propre* of Japanese, Chinese and other Asiatics be respected, the harm may not be serious. If, however, this law is but the beginning of further acts of irritation and humiliation, the future outlook for mankind is not bright.

A great debate confronts the world to-day. What are "races"? What are the essentials of race nature, race worth, race rights and race destiny? Are races fixed and immutable entities? Is the popular judgment regarding inter-race marriage correct? Are races mutually assimilable? Are race distinctions at bottom merely biological or are they bio-psychological? Are the psychic and cultural differences of races, their mental, moral and religious characteristics, transmitted with their biological heredity or by exclusively social processes? Are some races intrinsically superior? If so, which? By what criteria? Are "superior" races justified in seeking to dominate, exploit, and, if necessary, drive out, dispossess and even exterminate "inferior" races?

Does possession of a definite territory by a people or race give that people absolute and permanently inalienable right to exclude individuals of every other race or people, regardless of all questions of population, utilization of natural resources and maintenance of orderly government? Were Europeans within their rights in dispossessing American Indians of their lands? Would Japanese, Chinese and East Indians be right in taking possession, had they the power to do so, of the United States, Canada and Mexico, and of driving out these present Caucasian peoples? On what moral principles have nations the right to regulate, restrict or even exclude immigration from other lands? Is "national sovereignty" a matter of "right" or of mere "might"? Has a people, merely because its numbers exceed the food supply of its territory or because of its military power, an inherent right to migrate into less populated territory, regardless of the economic, social and political disturbances it may cause to the population already in possession? Do

nations and races possess any "inalienable rights"? Do those rights include that of unrestricted migration, equality of race treatment and free intermarriage within the territorial areas of other races? This debate is vital. On its conclusions and the practices growing out of it depend the welfare and future of mankind.

How does Christianity meet the problems of race contacts and rivalries, with their modern civilization and religion? Two opposite schools are seeking to control thought and conduct in regard to races. At one extreme is the pagan school, which is noisy and insistent but doubtless small in actual numbers. It is frankly materialistic, selfish, militaristic, and imperialistic. The policies of the powerful nations have appeared too often to be controlled by these principles and this spirit. This school asserts the intrinsic superiority of the white peoples and their consequent right to dominate and exploit "inferior" races, by force if necessary. It argues for the law of the jungle; denies the existence of moral laws in the relations of nations and races; appeals to science and evolution, interpreted materialistically, in support of its view of nature "red in tooth and claw"; believes that might gives right; talks of the "inferior brands" and "lesser breeds" of men; justifies white race arrogance and pride; and urges the white race to drive forward in its "manifest destiny" for complete world domination.

In sharp antithesis to this contention is that of Christian thinkers. They emphatically reject the materialistic world view, and its pagan reliance on brute force to achieve its selfish ends. They assert the supremacy of spirit, of right and justice, of truth, goodness and love. They believe that the universe exists for moral and spiritual ends, and that these come to supreme expression in human life, individual, social, national and racial; that the human race is at bottom of "one blood," though with many varieties; that the existence of races is not a mere chance product of evolutionary processes but is a part of the eternal purposes and plans of God, the wise and loving Father; that the races have important contributions to make, each for the welfare of all; that the full potentialities of man would never come to light nor the full richness and wealth of human life be possible without the variety of families, nations and races which have come into being; that in the relations of races moral principles have absolute and inescapable control; that the wages of sin is death for

nations no less than for individuals. The diversity of races, they hold, contributes to the discipline of life, to the moral development of mankind. The very problems and difficulties created by the contacts of mighty races and civilizations are elements in the divine plan by which the human race is being educated and trained for noble living and for intrinsic character.

The Christian view of race and race relations is rooted in religion, in ethics, in science and in reproducible experience. This Christian view may become the experience of every human being who will personally test the Christian way of life in regard to races. The logic of the thorough-going ethical monotheism taught by the Hebrew prophets was that all men of all families, tribes and nations are brothers, and that all are included in the divine plan. These prophets looked forward to the time when all conflict would cease between the nations through their acceptance of a common faith in God and their practice of justice and fair dealings with one another. The universalism of Jesus was in sharp opposition to the narrow nationalism of most of the Jews of His time. Even His apostles failed at first to understand it. But the experiences of Peter and Paul and many disciples under the guidance of the Holy Spirit led them to see that God is no respecter of persons—of races, as we would now say; that in Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free, and not even male or female. It was this universal outlook and warm brotherly fellowship that saved Christianity from becoming a mere Jewish sect, that successfully carried the new religion to every corner of the Roman Empire and that has made it the great missionary religion of all time.

It is the practice of this Christian way of life to-day by missionaries in Africa and India, in China and Japan and every other land that is verifying afresh the eternal validity of the Christian viewpoint. The essential unity of all races, their complete mutual intelligibility, their capacity for mental, moral and religious assimilation, for friendship, good-will and co-operation, are all proved in the pragmatic tests of actual experience by those who approach the problems in the spirit of Jesus. The one hope of the world for the reconciliation of the races, for the fundamental solution of race problems, and for the final abolition of war, lies in the general adoption of this Christian viewpoint by the great nations and races in determining their national policies and programmes.

These convictions of Christians do not blind their eyes to the actual problems of race contacts, due to migration, political control, economic competition and inter-racial marriage. Sane Christian thinkers do not advocate doctrinaire policies on these difficult issues. But they do advocate the scientific study and the practical adjustment of all these questions under the guidance of a spirit of brotherliness and good-will. The difficult problems of Asia's enormous populations and the Occident's amazing dynamic power can only be solved for the welfare of all by the scientific approach dominated by the Christian spirit. Even the scientific approach appears to be impossible without the Christian spirit.

In the light of the foregoing considerations and principles a brief statement of the Christian method of dealing with the problems of race migration and race treatment may be tentatively formulated. White race opposition to Oriental immigration appears at first to be due to mere race selfishness and prejudice. More careful consideration shows, however, that a vital issue is involved. At bottom this opposition is due to the instinct of self-preservation. The belief is practically universal and apparently well-grounded that the free immigration of Orientals into areas occupied by white races would be fatal to their political, industrial, educational and religious institutions and culture. In excluding Oriental mass immigration the white races are seeking to preserve themselves and their culture from practical submergence and extinction.

On the other hand, that which causes bitter resentment and indignant wrath on the part of Asiatics is the humiliation of race discrimination with the implications of inferiority. "Not exclusion but discrimination" was the Japanese ground of condemnation of America's recent immigration law. Careful examination of Asiatic criticism of Occidental treatment shows that they resent not exclusion but humiliation. "When *Izzat* (honour) is at stake, we prefer death to anything else," said Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at a recent Imperial Conference in London.

Self-preservation, then, is the underlying motive of the Occidental in barring Oriental immigration, while self-respect and insistence on courtesy and equality is the underlying motive of the Oriental in resenting the Occidental attitude. "For their national existence, their traditions, their cherished institutions men will fight to the end. To resist unfair discrimination, to win equal rights with



ABDUL KRIM, LEADER OF THE RIFF TRIBESMEN.



A TYPICAL RIFF HORSEMAN.

element in the solution is the spirit of brotherhood and good-will. This is the contribution which Christianity can make, because it can and actually does create the Christian spirit and attitude on the part of individuals of every race. Where these exist every difficulty can be solved.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RACE PROBLEM

BY BASIL MATHEWS, M.A.

"Where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman; but Christ is all and in all." So, even though Christianity naturally cannot undertake to dictate detailed answers to biological or purely economic questions, Christianity as Christianity can know nothing of race supremacy or race exclusiveness. Our failures, past and present, to live up to this ideal are notorious. How can we do better in the future?

A DISPASSIONATE observer, visiting us from another planet and surveying the contemporary human scene, would discover in what we call the "race problem" the most profound of all the issues confronting the Christian programme of a Kingdom of God on earth.

The more deeply he penetrated into the problem, the more fully would he discover that its roots run through every region of our life. They run back through the soil of human history; they run down into the physical heritage of man as a created being; they penetrate into the psychology at once of instinct and of will; they are irrigated by the flow of the world-wide streams of economic interchange and are nourished by the powerful forces of industrial expansion. One of the most baffling tangles in the planet-wide problem of education, the race problem confronts those who share the Christian belief in the Fatherhood of God and in the Kingdom of God with a titanic challenge.

The race problem is fundamental; and it is fundamental simultaneously in the fields of ethnology, sociology, biology, psychology, economics, ethics, and religion. Geographically world-wide in its range, it affects the future of the life of men of every continent.

It is a problem of swiftly-growing human populations on a planet with a land-surface of fixed dimensions. It is a problem of the clash of differing standards and codes of morals and of manners, of

cleanliness and of cost of living—indeed of differing conceptions of civilization itself—in a world where modern transport is throwing men of all races into each other's immediate presence. It is a problem of conflicting claims—claims to rights in territory, in the use of native language; claims to political authority on the one hand and to self-determination on the other. It is a problem in the inherent educable capacity of some races. It is a baffling enigma in the nature and the practicability of equality and justice in a complex world. Most of all for the Christian individual and the Christian Society of the Church, it presents the question: Which is to triumph—the ineradicable actual physical facts of biological difference or the spiritual fact of the unity of man as created in God's image? On the issue of that conflict the future of the human race depends.

What is the actual relationship existing between the white race and the indigenous populations of the countries into which the white race has expanded, either by its commercial activities or its governmental control, or both; and what is the relation of Christ's programme to that situation?

The expansion of the white races has thrown them into a controlling relationship with the peoples of practically all Africa, including that to the north as well as to the south of the Sahara; with the Semitic peoples of Nearer Asia in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia; with the more than 300,000,000 people in India and Ceylon, with the still uncounted millions of Malaysia and the Dutch East Indies, and with the greater part of the primitive island peoples of the world. The same expansion has thrown the white race also into an increasingly intimate and continuous political relationship with the 400,000,000 people in China.

This relationship of the white and other races has within the past quarter of a century, still more within the past decade, transformed the face of the world. In a single generation mankind has experienced ideas as revolutionary as those which occupied over three centuries of Europe's life in the successive movements of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the French Revolution. By far swifter processes and on a planetary scale, violent movements of life have stung every considerable section of the human race into vehement racial self-consciousness. Among these revolutionizing

movements are the leaven of the Western spirit of nationality throughout the whole world; the shattering of ancient traditional habits of thought and life by modern invention and especially by the world-transport of goods, people and ideas by liner, railway, motor, and aeroplane; the impact of the World War, and the sudden emergence and spread of Bolshevism as a missionary force of the first magnitude.

Let us look first of all swiftly across the geographical range of the scene of this world-wide movement. Beginning in Africa, we find great populations north of the Sahara under the rule of the Latin peoples—the Spanish, the French and the Italians. In Morocco the fierce fighting tribes under a leader of first-class talent if not genius, Abdul Karim, have given staggering blows to the prestige of the white man. Next door, in Algeria, France exercises the most efficient of the controls possessed by the white men in that area.

Shiploads of young men from Algeria—men whose fathers' horizon was bounded by the mosque, the camel track, and the bazaar—are carried each year by the motor, the railway and the liner across into France. Attracted thither by higher wages, for them the music-hall replaces the mosque, the boulevard ousts the bazaar, and the four walls of the camel-khan give place to the world-outlook of the cinema. They labour in the engine-shops and factories of France, while the young manhood which remains in Algeria is drilled as an integral part of the French fighting forces. Meanwhile, in their own country of Algeria, motor-routes and railways carry Western ideas to the remoter villages, and the "caterpillar" car outspeeds the camel as it rolls across the Sahara.

Moving Eastward across the Italian colonies of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, we discover for the first time in Egypt an Egyptian Prime Minister, elected by the popular vote of the Egyptians, with his cabinet controlling that country. The wonder of this deepens when we recall that since the Persians swept the land twenty-five centuries ago, no Egyptian ruler of any kind has held supreme control. Even Cleopatra was a vassal of Rome.

Britain in Egypt has, by some of the most remarkable efforts in service of a subject people that history can show, established justice and economic prosperity out of ruinous foundations in previous bankruptcy and mis-rule. In a word, Britain created an Egyptian

life strong enough to be discontented, so that when the ferment of self-determination ran through the world from Dublin to Delhi, Egypt claimed and secured self-rule.

Looking northward, we see how—after one of the most shattering defeats in human history—the Turkish people, following the shining scimitar of Mustapha Kemal, not only swept Greece into the sea, but imposed the Turkish will on the whole of Europe in the Treaty of Lausanne and simultaneously overthrew the control of the Khalifate. This is one of the most vivid and violent demonstrations ever made of the immense dynamic force of a secular nationalism passionately set on self-determination.

Swinging across to Palestine, Syria and Iraq, we discover a form of government new in history. Here white rule is exercised through mandates, conferred by a League of Nations representing over fifty peoples, and strictly reviewed every year by a permanent commission of these nations on the basis of a closely scrutinized report. The mandatory rule in these areas is exercised by two white races over a Semitic population predominantly Arab.

We now move across Persia, where the widespread ferment of nationalism is not yet sufficiently cohesive for action, to the greatest, the subtlest, the most complex of all the situations created by the world expansion of the white race—namely, the government, direct and indirect, of more than 300,000,000 people in India by Britain.

The race-ferment that has thrown up in Morocco an Abdul Karim (a fighting leader), in Egypt a Zaghloul Pasha (a political agitating revolutionary) and in Turkey a Mustapha Kemal (a genius at once in politics and war), has created in India a Mahatma Gandhi (a spiritual ascetic flame). This difference in leadership is, in itself, a revelation of the strikingly different material upon which the race-consciousness is working in India.

Not only the personality of Gandhi himself, but the characteristic features of his programme and of what has followed from it, suggest that the conflict here is not fundamentally political, or racial, or economic, but in essence cultural, if not actually spiritual. Gandhi's appeals for the saucer lamp against the paraffin lamp; the ox-cart against the motor-car; the spinning-wheel and the hand-woven cloth against the imported fabric, are pathetically impossible anachronisms. But they are symbols of a profound spiritual warfare that commands sympathy. They are expressions of a passionate

desire to preserve the ancient spiritual and intellectual heritage of India from the tidal wave of modern Western commercialism, from standards that measure progress by external material opulence and productive mechanism rather than by spiritual reality and personal poise.

The political battle that rages incessantly in India (though with occasional lulls in its fury) is essentially its battle for a new status and relationship, consistent with the immortal spiritual elements in India's religious heritage.

While, however, it is a spiritual struggle, it is being fought out in the realm of politics within the British Commonwealth of Nations. This creates a terrible conflict of loyalties in the lives of millions—Indians and British—who believe with equal intensity, on the one hand, in the vital necessity that India should (for the world's sake as well as her own) preserve and spread her priceless spiritual and intellectual heritage, and, on the other hand, that this can only be done, at this stage, in a free fellowship within the ordered life of the British Commonwealth.

Initial political steps have been taken in this direction. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Bill, accepted by the British Parliament in December, 1919, introduced for the first time in Indian history the principle of direct representative government. If a solution of the race problem can be found in the Indian situation, the forces of that solution may well lead to a world-wide solution of the problem. On the other hand, failure in India will broadcast a fever of exasperation eastward over all Asia and across the Pacific, and westward through all Africa into America.

No short summary of the tangled web of the race problem in India could possibly represent its momentous issues with fairness and clarity. The inter-weaving of the world's race problems, however, is revealed strikingly in the fact that the analysis of the Indian problem would carry us at once across the Indian Ocean to Kenya Colony and to the 160,000 Indians in South Africa. There, so advanced a thinker as General Smuts sets up a flat refusal to assent to an Indian franchise in South Africa (on the ground, for instance, that in Natal it would give an Indian majority). He argues that what is at stake in the whole of that sub-continent of South Africa is whether the type of civilization to prevail there shall be the type imported from the white Western world, or that from Asia, or—

as a third alternative—that of the enormously more numerous Negro population. The question he does not raise is this fascinating, baffling, yet ultimately inescapable one—Can we not develop a civilization that will ultimately integrate the best elements in each rather than arrogate to one civilization a monopoly of good?

We cross by a natural bridge to the Negro question in Africa and in America. The first outstanding fact in the Negro situation, as it has now developed, is that the Negroes can never possibly be separated in their lives from inter-relationship and continuous contact with the white race. Negro Africa, from the Sahara to Cape Town, and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, is not simply a political dependency of European peoples; its rubber and cotton, cocoa and ivory, timber and tobacco, gold and diamonds, are a part of the life-blood of white civilization. The demands for labour on plantations and in mines are drawing the young men by the million from the old tribal environment into modern city conditions. This process in Africa is swiftly shattering at once the spiritual authority of Animism over the Bantu peoples, the political structure of African tribalism, and the economic agricultural simplicity that has prevailed throughout centuries.

The two forces in Africa which create among the indigenous peoples the most vigorous reactions of unrest are the exclusion of the Negro from the possession of his ancestral land and the will of white labour to create and maintain a monopoly of the skilled and highly-paid occupations, leaving the Negro and the half-caste to the unskilled work. These statements are susceptible to qualification in a number of areas, but, surveying the field generally, they hold. In the more advanced parts of South Africa, a third force—the refusal of a share in government—has its definite bearing upon racial friction.

We discover a radically different background when we follow the Negro across the Atlantic into the complex issues of the American race problem. The historic background is, of course, entirely different. In Africa the white peoples have thrust themselves into the Negro's continent: in America, the white man has dragged the Negro into his continent. The necessity of importing large masses of cheap slave labour into the Southern States when "Cotton became King," and the subsequent liberation of these slaves, have created a situation in which the Negro is on the whole in a posi-

tion of social separatism, political disability, and educational disadvantage, and is subject to a certain (though diminishing) measure of economic exclusion from high grades of work, and to a whole body of custom and an administration of law which follow different standards of treatment for the Negro and the white man.

The claims of the general body of Negro opinion include a desire above all for education, a demand for "equal opportunity to work for just wages and under fair conditions"; a share in government; security from race prejudice in legal decisions and from mob violence and, fundamentally, freedom from the measure of ostracism that persists.

II

The mind may well find itself baffled by the confusion and thrown into despair by the magnitude of the issues presented by the race problem, its immensity and complexity, its widely differing characteristics as between the Far East, the Middle East and the Near East, the Mediterranean world of Islam, Tropical and South Africa and America.

When, however, we look steadily at the problem, certain common characteristics emerge. These simultaneously simplify the outlines and give us greater hope of solution.

An analysis of the race problem in all these areas shows that a social and economic and political condition, or fear, or need, is in each case at the root of the difficulty. Even where the feeling of race-hostility is due to states of mind, it is a matter not of fundamental instinct, but of acquired ideas. In a word, race conflict is not rooted in the very make-up of man in himself, but is imposed upon him by an astonishing variety of powerful forces that have rapidly concentrated within recent years in creating these disturbing economic, social and political conditions and reactions against them.

If man is not a victim of blind forces, but is an intelligent being, in a universe whose ultimate reality is spirit, these conditions are remediable. If the forces in the world that desire good-will, reconciliation and conditions based on justice, can be persuaded to work for them with sufficient skill and vigour, they can solve the problem. Our certainty of the truth of this does not lie in the strength of those human forces in themselves, but in the fact that those forces



A STREET IN TUNIS. INSET, MODERN TRANSPORT IN NORTH AFRICA.



A MALAY SERVANT.



A MALAY GIRL.



A MALAY WOMAN.



A MALAY CHIEFTAIN

are working in line with the ultimate force of the universe, which is the Will of a God whose nature is justice and love. To put this point in another way, we shall not find any solution of the race problem if the material and physical forces that have created the problem are themselves the ultimate reality of the universe. But if Spirit is the ultimate power, and if that spirit is Love—in a word, if we believe really in “God the Father Almighty,” then essentially Man (whom He has made and is making) is one, and we shall discover that oneness in the spiritual nature of man.

The first and most powerful factor in working toward that end is education. By education is meant religious education (which is not education about religion, but education with a religious aim; or, in other words, education that interprets the world as a creation of Spirit), an education of the youth of all peoples as well as the adult life, which will give through history, geography and other sources a just interpretation of the life of the other peoples of the world. This will include not only the shaping of school education with its text-books and the spirit of its teaching-staffs, but a vigorous attempt to strengthen all the elements in the press and in literature that make for mutual understanding. As a part of the educational process, inter-racial conference would be involved, both of leaders and of the rank and file. Such education would aim, for instance, in the case of the African peoples, at strengthening their character and capacity in those directions where their native gifts and their environment show that they can make their best contribution to the world.

It would be an education too that would not attempt to assimilate all peoples to a common cultural standard, but would develop in them those elements which constitute their gift to the world, while aiming centrally at building character of such a type that mutual respect, confidence, and happy natural social relationship could be built upon it.

Those who have met in continuous intercourse and conference men and women of other races in whom these qualities have been created by education, know that there is a real basis for racial inter-relationship, and that the Christian Gospel has inherent in it the full message on this issue.

The fact that the nations which have called themselves Christian have themselves gone far to create the problem and to exasperate

the whole situation is due not to the Christianity that they profess, but to their manifest failure to apply their Christianity, or even to begin to understand its bearing on the problem. Christendom has no single mind upon the race problem and, as a world force, has developed no common policy. Yet there lies within the teaching of the New Testament the truth that can make the world free from the race peril.

In every race men and women in increasing numbers are feeling their way toward a real understanding of that truth. They are doing so not in an abstract way, nor in general terms, but in practical grappling with the race problem as it presents itself locally. They are doing so, not in isolation, but in groups. The successful local explorations and experiments of those groups are becoming the basis of more general efforts toward a solution; while a success achieved or an educational experiment developed in one area leads to new advances in others. Such a world-wide radiation of influences as those of the Commission on Inter-racial Relationships in the Southern American States is one example out of a multitude illustrating this most promising development. They lead us on to the conviction that, stupendous as the race problem is in its ranges and mass, and menace, it is still possible for man to compass its solution through the release of the organized forces of good-will, guided and energized by the supernatural purpose and power of God.

To this end the co-operation of the scholarship, experience, and executive leadership of Christendom is essential. Above all, the challenge is thrown down at the feet of that great community "the Holy Church throughout all the world." That community of the Church to-day includes men of all races and lives its supernatural life in every land. It is, however, not only weak and disunited, but is itself invaded and infected with class conflict and race hatred. To that extent it is a traitor to its Master, and is unregarding of its faith in the Father who "made of one every nation of man for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

If, however, in that faith it will rise to the way of world fellowship, where differences of race, wealth, culture, and status are gathered into a more inclusive unity, the Church may and must become the spiritual parent of the Commonwealth of Man.

CHAPTER XIX

THE COLONIAL PROBLEM

By J. H. OLDHAM, M.A.

The setting up of the rule of Western nations over other peoples has been accompanied, in varying degrees, by benefits to those governed, but still further advance must be made in order to fulfil the obligations of trusteeship in the matter of backward peoples.

THE late Professor Marshall, the great economist, tells us on the opening page of his "Principles of Economics" that "the two great forming agencies of the world's history have been the religious and the economic," and that throughout human history these two influences "have nearly always been more important than all others put together."

The relations which subsist to-day between the politically more advanced and less advanced peoples have been brought into existence, and are still largely dominated by, economic motives. The colonizing instinct, it has been aptly said, is the daughter of the commercial spirit. The heart of the colonial problem is the question how far these economic forces which operate so powerfully can be regulated, directed and supplemented by a conception of human relations which is broader and richer and which draws its inspiration and power from a religious interpretation of life.

The prime motive of the expansion of Europe, which began in the fifteenth century and continuing to our own day has transformed the face of the world, is to be found in the rich prizes to be gained in the trade with the East, though missionary ardour and the spirit of discovery and adventure also played their part. The British Empire came into being as an unsought consequence of the extension of British commerce. In the restless and enterprising sixteenth century there were founded in succession the Muscovy Company, the Levant Company, the African Company and, at the turn of the century, the East India Company. The object was not to colonize but to obtain rich cargoes of rare and precious commodities

to be sold at high prices. But as trade developed measures became necessary for its protection. Forts were established to ensure the safety of trading operations; causes of friction arose with neighbouring peoples, and hostilities led to the extension of the area under Western control; fears of the rival activities of other European Powers led to action intended to forestall them; and thus gradually, and at times irresistibly, the necessities of trade led to political dominion, and the ubiquity of British commerce issued in the growth of a world-wide Empire.

That the Western nations, with their superior equipment in knowledge and power of organization, should have established their rule over the peoples lacking these advantages with whom their trade brought them into contact may be regarded as in the main a necessity. The new economic forces introduced into these countries by European traders and adventurers armed with the knowledge, inventions and weapons of the West, had to be brought under control if they were not to operate to the disadvantage and injury of peoples unable to cope with them on equal terms. Only a Western government in most cases was strong enough to establish an effective control.

Not only has the establishment of Western rule responded on the whole to the inner necessities of the situation, but it has in many instances brought acknowledged blessings in its train. British rule in India, for example, as native leaders have on many occasions publicly recognized, has maintained peace and order, provided security for life and property, administered even-handed justice, facilitated trade by the making of railways and roads, brought large tracts under cultivation by gigantic irrigation schemes, given to the country a unity which it formerly lacked, and through the introduction of Western knowledge awakened new intellectual and moral energies and given birth to a powerful national movement. This, indeed, is only one side of the shield, and it will be necessary later to look also at the other.

That the setting up of the rule of Western nations over other peoples has been accompanied, in varying degrees, by benefits to those governed has been due to the recognition, which has become steadily clearer and more pronounced, that the exercise of such rule carried with it definite moral obligations and responsibilities; that it partook of the nature of a trust. That this idea took root early in the

history of British imperialism is due in large measure to the exertions, speeches and writings of Edmund Burke. He held it to be a fundamental maxim that "all political power which is set over men ought to be in some way or other exercised ultimately for their benefit." Slowly but surely the doctrines enunciated increased their hold on the public mind. They were given clear expression in Queen Victoria's Proclamation, when the reign of the East India Company came to an end and the Crown assumed responsibility for the government of India. In this it was publicly declared that no distinctions would be made on grounds of race or creed and that the government would be administered "for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our reward." Since then it has been the declared basis of British imperial policy, however many shortcomings there may have been in practice, that the government of subject races must be carried on for the benefit of those who are governed.

At the close of the World War the principle that the government of peoples not yet capable of administering their own affairs is to be regarded as a trust received emphatic recognition in the Covenant of the League of Nations. In the disposal of those colonial possessions of the defeated Powers, which are inhabited by "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world," it was agreed that "there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant."

A few years later the British cabinet, in a statement giving its decision in a controversy regarding the status of Indians in Kenya Colony, made a pronouncement committing the Imperial Government to an acceptance of the principle of trusteeship in the most explicit terms. Kenya is declared to be primarily an African territory and His Majesty's Government "think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount . . . and there can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed the responsibility for the adminis-

tration." As in Uganda, so in Kenya Colony, "the principle of trusteeship for the natives, no less than in the mandated territory of Tanganyika, is unassailable."

We may thus thankfully recognize the gradual but increasing permeation of the public mind with conceptions of the responsibilities and obligations of a governing Power that are in accord with the dictates of Christian morality. We have now to examine the difficulties attendant on the endeavour to translate these ideals into practice.

While British rule in India, which we have taken for the purpose of illustration, has unquestionably conferred many benefits on India, Great Britain has not gone without a reward for her services. The colossal fortunes made in connection with the East India Company played no small part in creating the wealth and power of the City of London, and the capital accumulated through the Indian trade went far towards making the industrial revolution possible in England and starting the coal mines, iron works, factories and mills which enabled England to anticipate other nations and secure industrial supremacy in the markets of the world.

The ruthless forms of exploitation which prevailed in the early days of the East India Company were put an end to by the increasing control of Parliament. But Indians believe, rightly or wrongly, that from the days of the East India Company onward the industrial and commercial interests of India have, when necessity arose, been sacrificed to those of Great Britain. For more than a century the East India Company grew rich through the sale of Indian textiles. But the development of the cotton industry in Lancashire led to the imposition of heavy duties on Indian textiles which acted as a severe check on the importation of Indian fabrics, while on the other hand British cloths entered India in increasing quantities and by their cheapness drove native products out of the market and to a large extent ruined Indian crafts and industries.

At a later date, when modern methods of manufacture had taken root in India, the Government of India found itself, at the close of last century, compelled by financial stress to impose a five per cent. tariff on imports, including cotton; it was forced, however, by pressure from England to agree to the imposition of a countervailing excise duty of a similar amount on cotton fabrics manufactured in Indian mills, in order that Lancashire goods might suffer

no disadvantage. India thus found herself driven at the behest of the British Parliament to adopt a course of action which she did not regard as in her own interest, and which she would not have taken had she been an independent nation. As an Indian member of the Viceroy's council sarcastically remarked, so long as Lancashire sent sixty members to Westminster, the British Government would always have sixty reasons for over-riding Indian wishes in the matter. Twenty years later, during the World War, the grievance was removed.

The illustration has been given to bring out the extreme difficulty of giving effect to the principles of justice in a controversy between two peoples when political power is exclusively in the hands of one side, and that side has large economic interests at stake or is subject to the powerful influence of such interests. It is not difficult to see the point of view of the Indian who is reported in Mr. J. T. Gwynn's recent volume "Indian Politics" as saying, "We know you English are just judges between us Indians when your own interests are not concerned. But when your own interests are concerned, are you just judges then? It is not in human nature." Indians may be pardoned for thinking that their industrial and commercial interests would be safer and better looked after in their own hands than when the ultimate court of appeal is a Parliament which is subject to the influence of interests that may be opposed to those of India, and which is in any case so pre-occupied with concerns nearer home as to have little time to understand and weigh carefully the Indian point of view.

A second indictment brought by Indians against British rule is that by excluding Indians from real responsibility in the management of their affairs it has robbed them of the greatest of all possessions—the opportunity of developing their manhood. The danger was clearly recognized a century ago by Sir Thomas Munro, one of the greatest administrators ever sent by Great Britain to India. In a letter written when he was Governor of Madras he says, "Our present system of government, by excluding all natives from power, and trust, and emolument, is much more efficacious in depressing, than all our laws and school-books can do in elevating, their character." No projects for the moral improvement of the people can have the smallest chance of success, he continues, "unless some of those objects are placed within their reach, for the sake of which

men are urged to exertion in other countries. This work of improvement . . . will be in proportion to the degree of confidence which we repose in them, and to the share which we give them in the administration of public affairs."

The desire for freedom and self-expression, once aroused, may become one of the most powerful passions that possess the human soul. When it has been awakened, it cannot find satisfaction until its object has been achieved. However much on sober reflection an Indian may feel that the British connection is necessary for India's healthy development, his difficulty is to reconcile the continuance of British rule with his own feelings of self-respect. The sense of being a member of a subject race at times becomes intolerable. To move among other peoples as one belonging to a country whose destinies are controlled by alien rulers gives rise to a rankling sense of inferiority. Sir Verney Lovett, in his "History of the Indian Nationalist Movement," gives a quotation from the diary of Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, once a member of the Indian Civil Service and afterwards a Congress leader. Describing a night spent with other tourists at the North Cape during a visit to Norway and Sweden, he writes, "I will not conceal the pain and humiliation which I felt in my inmost soul as I stood on that memorable night among representatives of the free and advancing nations of the earth rejoicing in their national greatness. Champagne was drunk on the top of the hill, and Germans and Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans pressed us to share their hospitality. I accepted their offer with thanks on my lips, but I felt within me that I had no place among them." The words were written a generation ago, but the feeling they express has only gained in volume and intensity in the years that have followed.

The British Parliament has responded to India's demand to be allowed to manage her own affairs by the momentous declaration that the goal of British policy is the development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. In regard to the goal to be aimed at there is no fundamental opposition between the British attitude and the mass of responsible Indian opinion. The differences which exist are in regard to the manner in which it is to be sought and the speed at which progress should be made.

These are questions on which Christian principles by themselves can furnish no ready-made solution. Sound decisions in regard to them are dependent not only on a right attitude of mind and heart, but also on a correct estimate and interpretation of a large number of complicated and not easily reconcilable facts. To unwind and weave anew the innumerable threads which have been woven together through the many decades of the British connection with India must necessarily be a difficult and toilsome undertaking. To change the metaphor, if the house is to be rebuilt, the problem is how to maintain a safe and weather-proof shelter for the people of India while the process of reconstruction is going on.

The Christian principle of doing to others what we would have them do to ourselves undoubtedly demands that Great Britain, valuing freedom for herself, should whole-heartedly desire for India the same blessing; and that no British interest or advantage should be made an excuse for preventing or postponing the realization of India's legitimate aspirations. Reverence for the individuality of others, which is fundamental in the Christian view of life, would seem to require, further, that reforms, however excellent in themselves, should not in fact and substance, whatever may be the correct constitutional procedure, be determined upon by the will of Great Britain alone, but should be the fruit of real and effective consultation, co-operation and agreement between the two peoples on a basis of a genuine equality and mutual respect.

We may now turn from the aspects of the subject suggested by the example of India to a consideration of the situation in the huge continent of Africa, which, so far as its vast interior is concerned, has only within the past half-century been subjected to the influence of Western civilization and brought into the main stream of human development. Limitations of space compel us to restrict our view in the main to that part of the Continent, amounting to nearly a third, which is included within the British Empire. The problems in the African colonies of other European Powers are to a large extent similar in character.

In British Africa, three broad areas have to be distinguished, in each of which the problem arising from the contact of the white and black races assumes a different form.

In West Africa, as compared with the other two, it is relatively simple. The climate is unfavourable to European residence. There

is consequently no menace to native interests in land and production. The task of Government is to administer the colonies for the good of their native inhabitants, and as experience and capacity permit, chiefs and people can be given a share in the direction of policy and the management of affairs.

In South Africa an entirely different state of things prevails. The attempt is there being made to build up a definitely white civilization in the midst of a surrounding sea of black life. The ideal of the white community in South Africa is to develop a type of life similar to that which prevails in other Dominions like Canada or Australia, notwithstanding the fact that unlike these the Union of South Africa includes within its bounds a coloured and black population outnumbering the white by four to one. Natives possess the franchise in the Cape of Good Hope, but in the Union they are entirely excluded from political power.

In East Africa, again, including the Colony of Kenya, the Protectorates of Uganda and Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia and the mandated territory of Tanganyika, while natives constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, there are limited areas suitable for European residence. White settlement is largest in Kenya, where the European community numbers about 10,000 as compared with some 2,500,000 natives, but it is found in all the East African territories.

The declared view of the British Government, as we have seen, is that Kenya—and, therefore, *a fortiori* the other East African territories—is primarily a native territory and that the interests of the natives are paramount. The Imperial Government regards itself as exercising a trust on behalf of the natives which it cannot delegate or share, and the grant of responsible government is stated to be out of the question within any period of time that need now be considered. The interests of millions of natives cannot be entrusted to a white community so few in numbers and having for the most part a direct personal interest in questions affecting the life of the natives. On the other hand the official theory is not easy to reconcile in practice with the hard facts of the situation. The European community, though small in numbers, is forceful, energetic and enterprising. It has the restlessness and desire for progress which are characteristic of Western peoples. It has every opportunity of making its point of view heard and its influence felt. It has the

characteristic and deep-rooted British dislike of allowing one's affairs to be managed by other people, especially by those who are thousands of miles away. For these reasons the power and influence of the local European community can hardly but be greater in reality and practice than it is in constitutional theory. The facts, whether we like them or not, seem to make it inevitable that the destiny of East Africa should be to become, not, as West Africa is regarded, almost exclusively a black man's country, nor, as South Africa is trying to be, a definitely white man's country, but somehow and in some sense a black *and* white man's country. Here, more urgently and immediately than in any other part of the Continent, the problem, which is the ultimate problem of the whole of Africa, has to be taken in hand how the two races can exist side by side and develop their own distinctive types of life, with justice and real opportunity for each.

For the sake of simplicity and on account of the limits of space, we have been compelled to leave out of account the further complication of the problem resulting from Asiatic immigration. It cannot be ignored, however, in practice, and in considering the relations of white and black the existence of Asia in the background ought never to be forgotten.

The task of civilization is the progressive achievement of justice in the relations between men. The peculiar difficulty which confronts the European Powers in the continent of Africa is that of securing justice in the relations between two races, brought into contact with one another at such widely separated stages of civilization, and so unequally matched in knowledge and in the power to make their will effective. The task of guiding the peoples of the continent by gradual steps to higher levels would be great and difficult if it could be undertaken by a paternal government, actuated primarily by a concern for the welfare and prosperity of the native inhabitants and undistracted by other interests. But history has decreed that white men as well as black should have made their home in the continent; and that the insistent demand for the valuable and, as they have become, indispensable products of the African soil, which only white energy and capital can make available with the desired rapidity, should almost everywhere force the pace of progress. The needs of European industry are clamant, and European energy and enterprise will not wait.

The difficulty of achieving justice in the relations between two races, when the power of decision resides almost entirely in the will of one of the parties, may be illustrated from conditions in South Africa. Suppose some measure to be necessary in the interests of the natives who constitute a large majority of the inhabitants of the Union. How under existing conditions is effect to be given to such a measure? It is probable that any attempt to do justice to native claims will come into conflict with some claim, real or supposed, of at least a section of the white community, and consequently provoke opposition in some interested quarter. Government and human nature being what they are, is it to be expected in these circumstances that a government will risk its tenure of office by introducing, or if introduced show strong enthusiasm for, a measure which must result in the loss of a considerable number of votes while it will gain none? Even where good-will and a desire to do what is right exist, the nature and normal working of the political system interpose formidable obstacles to their expression in practical legislation.

In the East African territories ultimate decisions rest with the Imperial Government which, being disinterested, should be able to take an impartial view. But here again the European element, while unable to control decisions, has by its superior knowledge, experience and resources immense power to influence them. Where pressure from one side is insistent and continuous it is only natural that the path of least resistance should be taken when manifest injustice is not the direct and immediate result.

The view that the fundamental problem in the relations of white and black in the African continent is that of doing equal justice to the claims of each race to self-development, real opportunity and the preservation of its own type of life, may be put in another way by saying that the vital necessity is to ensure that policy should be determined by the long view. On a long view the welfare of each race is dependent on that of the other. The co-operation of the white race is necessary to enable the peoples of Africa to progress towards a higher civilization. On the other hand the white race can prosper only with the help of the black. In South Africa the white community has given hostages to the black race in becoming economically dependent upon it for labour. The development of the immense potential wealth of East Africa is possible only by means of the labour of the native populations. Since the population



PONDO GIRL: SOUTH AFRICA.

By NORMAN H. HARDY.

is sparse the prosperity of these territories requires a steady increase in number. The problem of health is fundamental. But human beings have minds as well as bodies, and discontent and unrest can destroy the foundations of prosperity no less effectively than the ravages of disease. An aggrieved, dissatisfied and hostile black population must in the end prove fatal to European enterprise. On a long view it must be apparent to what is now the dominant race that its own welfare is inseparably bound up with the welfare and contentment of the other race. Injustice arises when immediate gain and selfish advantages are preferred to the larger and more lasting good which represents the interests of all.

To bring it about, however, that policy should be determined by the long view is by no means an easy or simple matter. Progress in the betterment of human relations is always a costly affair. If the taking of the long view is to be more than a phrase or empty aspiration, it must find some practical embodiment. If real justice is to be done between the races, some machinery needs to be set up to ascertain the facts of fundamental importance and remove them as far as possible out of the region of controversy. Only a deeper understanding and more complete mastery of the problem, resulting from assured knowledge, will supply reasons strong enough for resisting short-sighted and partial views when these are insistently pressed.

If one direction in which advance must be made in order to fulfil the obligations of trusteeship is that of gaining through knowledge a clearer perception of what is involved in the application of declared principles of policy to the complex conditions of actual life, another is the better education of the native peoples. The responsibilities of trusteeship are not discharged merely by protecting the native inhabitants of a colony against exploitation and injustice; they necessitate a positive and constructive policy directed to the advancement of these peoples in knowledge, capacity and character. This obligation is happily receiving increased recognition. In the early days of European occupation it was inevitable that the energies of Western governments should be mainly absorbed in opening up the territory by railways and roads and in setting up a settled administration. This task having been in part accomplished, it is becoming increasingly clear that the effect produced by the European occupation on the life and mind of the native peoples is

a matter of vital importance, since by the thoughts, feelings, and desires of these peoples, as they are moulded under the influence of the new forces, the future of the colonies must in the long run be largely determined.

The setting up in 1923 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies of an Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa is an event of great significance. It means that at the head-quarters of colonial administration there is a body of men definitely charged with the responsibility of thinking about the educational welfare of the inhabitants of the British colonies in tropical Africa. One of the first steps taken by the Committee has been to issue a memorandum setting forth the outlines of an imperial educational policy in African colonies which has received the approval of the Secretary of State. Western governments in Africa and all engaged in African education are greatly indebted to the reports of two Education Commissions, sent out in 1920 and 1923 under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation in America. The reports cover practically the entire continent and have received the most wide-spread welcome as furnishing much needed guidance in regard to the type of education needed in Africa to-day.

The educational needs of Africa offer an exceptional opportunity and constitute an urgent call to the Christian Church. The education of the peoples of Africa is a definite obligation resting on the Western governments which have undertaken to administer their territories, but it is a task which they can hope to accomplish successfully only by calling to their aid all who are willing to assist voluntarily in the endeavour; and in particular, by invoking the help of those religious influences which the governments themselves have publicly acknowledged to be the most potent force in the formation of character. The policy of the British Government, as set forth in the memorandum already mentioned, is one of whole-hearted co-operation with voluntary agencies, and gives emphatic recognition to the important place of religion in African education. The door stands wide open to the Christian Church to make a far-reaching contribution to the well-being and progress of the peoples of Africa. If the opportunity is allowed to slip, a right solution of the colonial problem may prove impossible of attainment.

CHAPTER XX

A JEWISH VIEW OF CHRISTENDOM

BY CLAUDE MONTEFIORE, M.A., D.D.

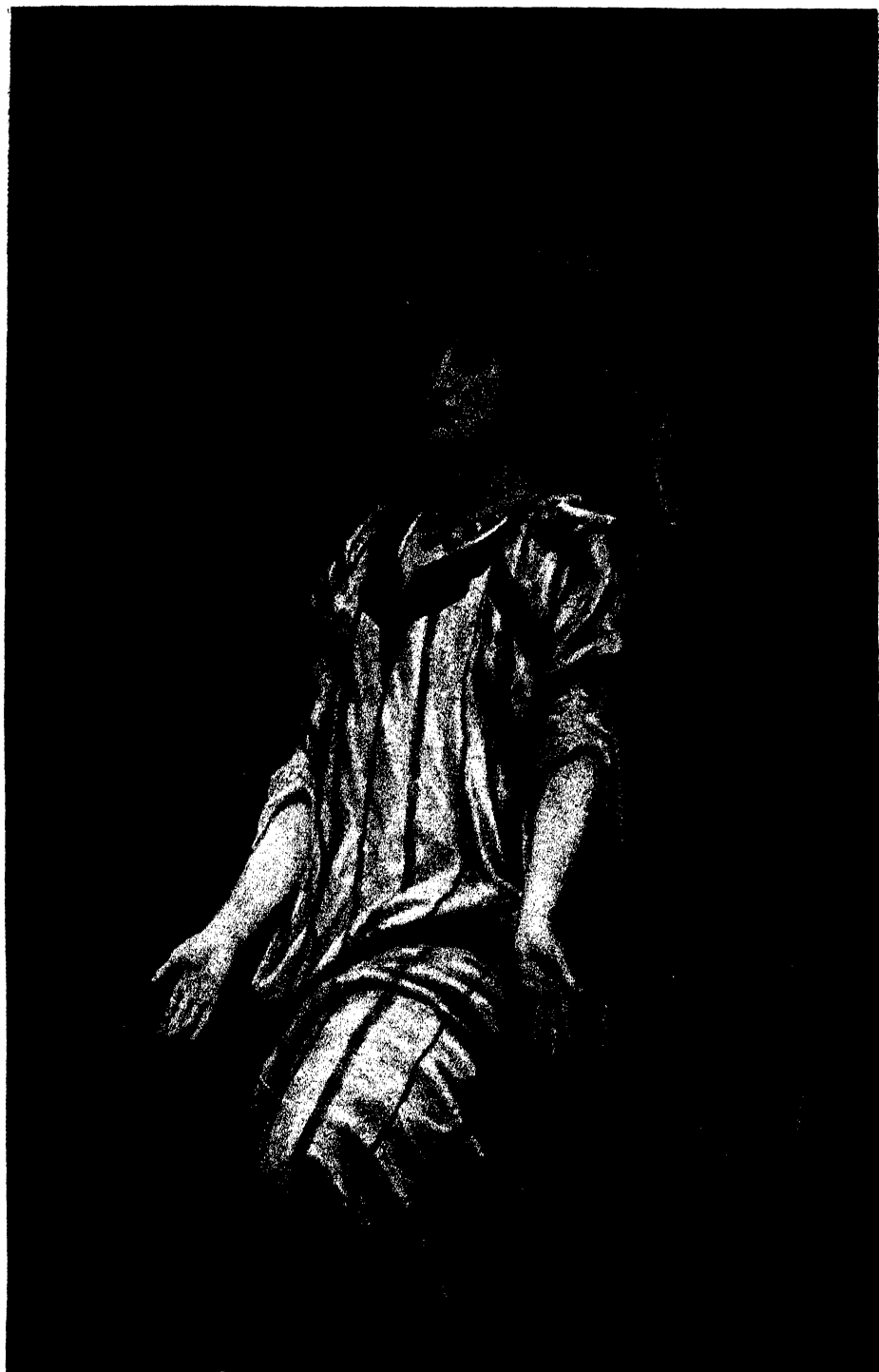
Christendom, says the writer, may have often failed to serve God rightly. But so far as it acknowledges Him and would thus seek to serve Him, the Jew desires to stand, and claims the right to stand, shoulder to shoulder with his Christian brother and fellow citizen in a common fight and in a common service.

THE subject indicated by the title of this chapter could clearly be treated in several different ways. The title could be made to signify several different things, of which only one can be chosen. A further difficulty is this. What does "a" mean? It implies that there is no "the": no one authoritative or common "Jewish view." But is "a" to mean the writer's view, or should it be the view of an imagined average Jew, or a view which is supposed to represent the largest number of living Jews? Who counts? Is it to be the view of educated or uneducated Jews? The view of English Jews, or Polish Jews, or Persian Jews? I suppose it will have to be a sort of compromise, leaning towards the view of the writer, who is, perhaps, hardly to be regarded as a representative, average Jew. Next, Christendom is now an unfrequent word, not used in the whole big prospectus of the "Outline," except in the heading of this chapter and of the two chapters which follow it. Does it mean Christianity as it has concretely worked itself out in Christian nations and in their civilization? And shall we add: in Europe and European colonies?

In the total product as it presents itself to us to-day it is almost impossible to separate what is truly and purely Christian from what is not. There are two frequent Jewish mistakes in this matter. The evils of civilization, the wrongs and horrors which have occurred among Christian nations, are pointed out—things like wars, persecutions, burning heretics alive, anti-Semitism, and many others, and it is said "These things are the product of Christianity." But they

may be the weaknesses of human nature which Christianity has been unable to overcome, or even if carried out under Christian auspices, in the very name of Christianity itself, they may be against its spirit or its most essential and most original teaching. Another mistake is this: the good which Christianity has produced, its obvious achievements, are frequently assigned to its Jewish elements. The successes of the Bible are regarded as Jewish successes, and the Bible is spoken of as if the Jewish and the Christian Bible were one and the same book. The *plus* of the Christian Bible is often conveniently ignored. But we have to remember that the Christian Bible consists, and has consisted, of *both* Testaments: for the good side of Christendom the credit may be due sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, and sometimes it is impossible to assign it (i.e., the good) separately to the one rather than to the other: it belongs to the Book as a whole.

Precisely the same observations may be made as regards the evils of Christendom in their relation to the Bible. They too, so far as they can be connected with, or given any causal relation to, the Bible (e.g., the horrors of witchcraft trials and executions), may be more specifically assignable to the Old Testament, or to the New Testament, or may only be referable to the Bible as a whole. Yet in spite of the first Jewish mistake, and admitting it, Christianity cannot be set wholly free from responsibility for the evils of Christendom, and merely given credit for its excellences and its good. Christianity as a religion is not cleared merely by saying, e.g., that while nominal Christianity has existed for nineteen centuries, the religion of Christ has never been tried. If it has not been tried, it may be partly the fault of His religion, which was not *triable*, which could not be put into practice, by ordinary men and women. And, again, if for many reasons it would not be right to judge Christianity by its fruits, *one* reason being that it is so difficult to say what *its* fruits precisely are, it is also true that for the forms which Christianity has assumed, for what has been taught as Christianity by Christians, and even for what has been done in the name of Christianity by its chosen representatives, Christianity must, at any rate, be held partially responsible. We shall admit that there can be a Christianity which is not corrupt, superstitious, intolerant, cruel, time-serving, and even that a Christianity which is none of these things is truer to type,



ESTHER PLEADING FOR HER PEOPLE.

a truer Christianity, than that which is any one of them. But, nevertheless, a corrupt, superstitious, intolerant, cruel, time-serving Christianity is still Christianity, and the Christian religion has to shoulder a measure of responsibility (though the measure can be exaggerated) for having assumed any one of these forms. That it has assumed them cannot, I think, be merely set down to the sinfulness, perversity and hard-heartedness either of human nature generally or of the nature of those branches of the human race which have made up European Christendom.

On the other hand, if Jews sometimes exaggerate the specifically Old Testament effects for good in the total Christian product and ignore the specifically Old Testament effects for evil, Christians sometimes exaggerate the second and minimize the first. What I mean as to the "minimizing" is this. Christianity has obviously produced certain immense results for good in Christendom and in history, and it deserves the credit for them. Jews would entirely agree about these excellent results with Christians. But these results must not be put down to Christianity as opposed to, or distinct from, Judaism. Some of them are due to that part of Christianity which is common to it and to Judaism, or which has been adopted from Judaism. Thus one hears that Christianity has brought about an increased respect for human life; e.g., it abolished the gladiatorial games, the exposure of infants. It regarded the practice of abortion as a sin. It set its face against unnatural vice. It tended to augment and accentuate pity, and to favour the establishment of compassionate institutions for the relief of poverty and sickness. It tended to increase chastity and the sense of its value. And so on. But these excellences are quite as distinctively Jewish as distinctively Christian, and a Jew in appraising Christendom is perfectly entitled to say, "In these excellences it is Judaism which has influenced the world and set its mark upon civilization."

And here, perhaps, one may add an odd reflection. If Judaism, *per impossible*, if you please—this need not be argued—had become the dominant faith, would any evils from which Christian Europe (= Christendom) has suffered have been more quickly eliminated, or would they not have so generally appeared? The question is not so digressive or irrelevant as it sounds, for in the answer is contained a part of "a Jewish view, or estimate, of Christendom." One has to admit that Jews often tried to forget that Judaism, for eighteen

centuries and more, has only been the religion of some small communities, and that if it had become the religion of Europe, it would surely, like Christianity, have deteriorated, and produced, like Christianity, many unlovely forms. Yet when all due account has been taken of these considerations, it does seem to me that certain evils from which Christendom has suffered, or which Christianity has allowed to appear, or which it has endured, or tolerated, or approved, a Jewish Europe might have been spared, or might more quickly have got rid of.

Thus it is doubtful whether eunuchs would have ever been allowed, as they were allowed in Byzantine Christendom (for the eunuchs of the Old Testament the Law, either as not being then in existence, or as not recognized and in force, is not responsible); it is doubtful whether torture would have been permitted; it is doubtful whether people would have been burnt alive; it is doubtful whether cruelty to animals would have been an unpunishable and negligible offence till modern times. There would have been no monasticism, no celibate priesthood, and here balances would have to be struck between good and evil; but there would have been probably a greater regard for health, and perhaps scientific medicine might have come more quickly into its own. Again, while Judaism is not without its idealisms and its principles, it has attempted (some think too much) to work out idealisms and principles into rules: its ethics are very delicate, but they seek also to be practical; there is a considerable dash in them of common sense. Dominant Judaism would probably have set its face against beggars more than dominant Christianity did, and, perhaps, while not depreciating the excellence of "love," it might have been somewhat keener about "justice."

In some very important departments of life it is very difficult to say whether Judaism would have succumbed to the weakness of human nature more or less than Christianity, or about the same. There is not much reason to believe that Judaism would have been less intolerant than Christianity, though, perhaps, if men had fulfilled outward practices it would have bothered less about dogma. What would it have done as regards the divine right of kings, absolutism, freedom? In spite of the Puritans and the Old Testament, the reply is not easy. So, too, as regards slavery and the slave trade. Perhaps the good and bad marks which must be given to

Christianity for its attitude towards education and free knowledge would also have had to be allotted to a dominant Judaism, but at all events the rule of Rabbis might have been less bad than the rule of Priests.

These "unpractical" reflections show what is in many Jewish minds about Christianity and its products. It is also pretty clear that a Jewish estimate or view of the different parts and ages of Christendom would vary with the particular forms of Christianity which in these portions and ages of Christendom were supreme. On the whole, Protestant Christianity is more sympathetic to Judaism than Roman Catholicism. Yet there are elements in Catholicism which are more sympathetic to Judaism than some elements in many forms of Protestant Christianity. For example, Catholicism appears to many Jews to hold the balance more fairly as regards the competing claims of Faith and Works. It perceives more clearly the value—though the subordinate value—of the "outward" in the total religious product: it does not, with too slavish an adherence to Paul, unwisely and indiscriminatingly depreciate the religious place and function of Law. Nevertheless, it is probable that an educated, moderate, uneccentric, Jewish estimate of Christendom would not greatly differ from an educated, moderate, uneccentric, Unitarian estimate of it.

A Jew perceives in Christendom the working out, or concrete results, of the fusion in Christianity of three distinct elements: a Jewish element, a Greek or Græco-Roman element, a pagan element. He applauds and approves the universalism of Christianity; the way in which secular as well as sacred knowledge have, to some extent at least, been given the approval of religion; the combination of religion with philosophy. Because Christianity was Hellenized and Romanized, Christendom was able to include and to absorb Platonic, Aristotelian and Stoic contributions to civilization, Roman law and Hellenic beauty. The Jew may shake his head at some of the products of all this inclusiveness, and he may believe that the preservation of Judaism is still a religious good. But he can be none the less appreciative of Christendom and its civilization. Nor will he refuse to recognize more specifically Christian achievements in Christendom, such as the attempted reclamation of the outcast, the insistence on monogamy and (on the whole) the higher position of women. He will be more dubious about Christian intransigence

respecting divorce. He will take up a critical but, on the whole, not unappreciative position towards Christian "missions" to the "heathen," while strongly deprecating those towards his own religious brotherhood, which have been too often associated with oppression, bribery, and every sort of illegitimate unfairness.

The Jew can live in, and assimilate, Christian civilization, because fundamentally that civilization rests upon a Jewish basis, and shares and promulgates Jewish aspirations and ideals. Moreover, there was a kinship in more ways than one between the highest thought of Greece and the highest thought of Judæa. Hence the possibility of their fusion. Judaism is not an Oriental religion, or it has long ceased to be an Oriental religion, in the sense in which Hinduism, Buddhism, or even Mohammedanism, are Oriental religions. Judaism and the Jews are at home in Europe; if they are now to be at home in Asia, i.e. in Palestine, it will only be because they will take Europe back with them to that new or old home.

If it be asked, "How does Christendom as it actually is affect the Jew; what is the Jew's reaction to it?" a full answer would lead us too far away from our main subject, "a Jewish estimate of Christendom." It may, however, be summarily stated that Christendom affects the Jew specifically according as Christendom behaves to him. If it behaves ill to him, it increases his prejudices, his unfavourable judgments, his desire not to assimilate, but to keep apart, over and above the general Jewish desire to maintain a *religious* distinctiveness, to maintain Judaism as a separate religious community. Prolonged persecution and hatred may even drive him (as we have seen in some cases in Russia) into active revolt and detestation. Yet they only lead to these extreme results (for the Jew is usually very patient and fairly discriminating) when he has cast off his own religion, and so become in the eyes of many Jews (as in the eyes of the present writer) a Jew no longer. If, on the other hand, Christendom behaves well to him, then it affects him very differently. Then he accepts and appreciates and absorbs that Christian civilization which is, after all, so largely his own. Then the danger is lest he accept it too much; that is, lest he forget his own religious obligations and the sense of his own religious mission. In other words, the danger is lest he become religiously indifferent or apathetic, and lest he fail to remember that the only method of preserving a tiny religious minority amid a huge dissentient majority is by marrying either



TRYING THE LAW.



PILLAGING A JEW'S HOUSE.



THE JEWS' WAILING PLACE, JERUSALEM.

those who belong to his own denomination from birth or who join it as proselytes.

To the faults and sins of Christendom the Jew can obviously not be blind. From Christian particularism, from Christian hatred, from Christian intolerance, he has suffered through the ages, and he suffers still to-day. The number of his dead and his martyrs, all due to Christian executioners, runs into hundreds of thousands. No less wicked and appalling has been Christian effort to degrade the Jew morally and intellectually. It is a marvel that this effort has not succeeded more than it has. It would be foolish to state that it has never succeeded at all. Secular persecution, hatred, contempt, produce heroes and martyrs: they also produce some reaction of hatred, some stunting and maiming; some moral weaknesses, deficiencies, unpleasantnesses.

Anti-Semitism is essentially un-Christian and anti-Christian, but yet it is a Christian phenomenon, and has to take its place as one of the occurrences in Christendom. It is partly caused, not merely by a weakness in human nature (dislike of that which is unlike, or outside of, our own group, race, nation, church, etc.), but also by a weakness in historic Christianity itself, namely, its attitude towards the heretic and the unbeliever. Moreover, in addition to the uncharitableness and generally anti-humanitarian character of anti-Semitism, it is also ludicrous. For in Europe and America the Jews constitute (*a*) a very small minority, (*b*) a by no means alien minority: that is to say, their ideals, religious and moral, are closely akin to, and fit in with, the ideals of Christianity. Give them everywhere full liberty, treat them everywhere as equals, and the problem would soon be solved. There is a practical economic trouble for the Jew as regards the seventh day Sabbath, which may cause *him* difficulties, but that is *his* trouble and not a Christian trouble.

In order to maintain their religious distinctiveness, Jews, as already indicated, must only marry with their fellow Jews or with proselytes, but this exclusiveness is purely of a religious character, and does not prevent Jewish appreciation and absorption of Christian civilization. The Jew refuses to allow that because he desires to marry only his fellow Jew or a proselyte, he should not be regarded as completely English, French, American, or German, as the Christian who, for religious reasons, would also not desire to marry a Jew. The Jew refuses to allow that he is so different from his Christian fellow citizen

that he cannot in France be a good and valuable Frenchman, in America a good and valuable American, and so on. He is only just different enough to make his differences of value. He is not so different that he stands apart, whether morally, intellectually, politically, or socially. Even in religion he is closely akin. Christian civilization is his civilization too; where there are differences of emphasis, or even in subject matter, these differences are complementary to one another; the Jewish points of view do not conflict with the Christian points of view: the total is enriched or rightly diversified.

Judaism and Christianity do not look at life or on earthly life in radically, or even markedly, different ways. At all events, not now. There have been one-sided phases of Christian thought which were antipathetic to Judaism, but these are not now to the fore. They left their mark upon Christendom, but those marks are disappearing. Jews consider that Christian thought is in some ways becoming more Jewish, and this view, which may seem conceited or eccentric to Christians, is not without its justification. It would be utterly wrong to suppose that Judaism does not lay immense stress upon the life beyond the grave. It has done so ever since the days of Jesus, and it does so still. There was no dispute about the "world to come" between Jesus (or Paul) and the Rabbis: there has been no dispute since. But though this is so (albeit it has been most ignorantly denied), Judaism appraises this life too as God's gift; this world, like the world to come, is His world, and men and women are to rejoice here as well as to rejoice hereafter, to rejoice here not only in their "tribulations," but in the sanctified and innocent pleasures of earth, even though they are connected with, and dependent upon, "material" things. This world is to become more and more a kingdom of God, even though the world beyond the grave is yet more fully and completely His Kingdom. That Judaism is a material, and not a spiritual, religion is a falsehood; but it sanctifies the material; it does not seek to destroy or to despise it.

The influence or teaching of Christianity to-day appears to be much in the same direction. Christendom, whether through socialistic or through any other means and devices, desires to increase justice, righteousness, and even in the highest sense of the word, prosperity—the prosperity and happiness of the greatest number. With the efforts of Christianity to strengthen and foster this desire

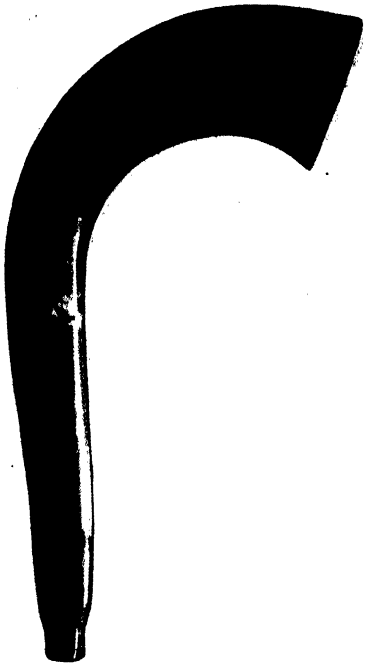
and to consecrate it, Judaism is in fullest sympathy. It may be added that there would be the same diversity of view among Jews as regards socialism as there is among Christians. There is agreement as to the end: the earthly "Kingdom of God"; there is much variety of opinion as to the means.

I lay very great stress upon what I have said in this and in the preceding paragraph. Judaism has been gravely misunderstood in its attitude towards "earth" and "heaven." It has even sometimes been supposed to reflect to-day the attitude of the Old Testament! It has sometimes been thought that it cares only for this world, because it believes in and teaches no other! And because it has been thought to do this, it is supposed that Jews are materialists, and that they can be divided up into two sections: (1) capitalists, with all the sins of capitalism, such as vulgarity, avarice, love of pleasure, and (2) revolutionists and communists, with all their sins, such as hatred, irreligion, love of destruction. The grain of truth in this absurd caricature is that Jews, when divorced from their religion, do sometimes assume one or other of these perversions. The irreligious Jew, if he or his parents have been victims of anti-Semitism, is sometimes a social danger, and the abler he is the greater is the danger. Somehow or other, the Jew often takes diseases more strongly than other people, and is sometimes inclined to push matters to extremes. In criticism—in order perhaps to show his independence and originality—he is sometimes inclined to paradox and whimsicality. The longer he lives in freedom, emancipated, respected and secure, the less is he liable to these excesses and aberrations. And still less is he so liable if he retains his religious faith.

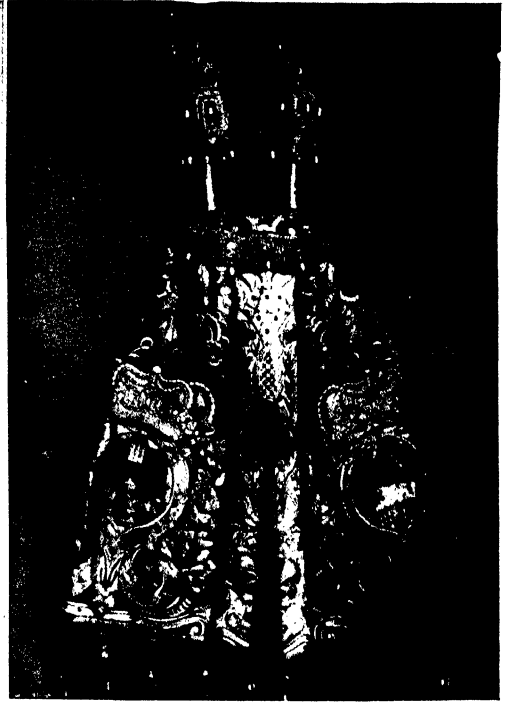
The exceptions must not be regarded as characteristic, any more than similar human beings are characteristic of Christianity. Judaism is still alive in millions of Jews: it is not a dead religion, but a living one. And Judaism is at one with Christianity, even as the Jews are at one with Christendom, in that estimate of this life and of the next which is summarized in the famous saying of the ancient Rabbi: "This world is like a vestibule before the world to come; prepare thyself in the vestibule, that thou mayest enter into the hall." Moreover, Judaism is essentially at one with Christianity in its great venture, namely, in its daring assertion of the righteous and loving God. It is, I venture to think, also at one with the Christianity of the Founder (though this may be disputed) in its doctrine of man:

akin to God, but yet distinct from Him. Just because Judaism and Christianity both maintain a Theism which is "transcendental" as well as "immanent," which in its conception of the world is both spiritual and affirmative—the world is no illusion, consciousness is no evil—is a Jewish estimate of Christendom at bottom favourable and sympathetic. Yet also, just, I fancy, because the Jews were persecuted so continuously and severely, did they free their religion somewhat sooner than Christians freed Christianity from certain unpleasant features that were common to both. The heretic, the unbeliever, will be "saved," according to the teaching of modern Judaism, no less than the orthodox; "eternal punishment" is repudiated. Since the fall of the Temple, Judaism became an entirely unpriestly religion, and in their contemplation of Christendom, the Jews look with satisfaction upon the emancipation of its inhabitants from the domination of the priest.

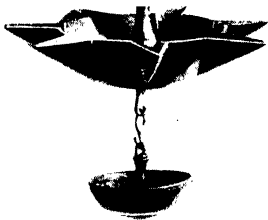
It may be that the metaphysical conception of the Godhead differs in Judaism and in Christianity; it may be that the mystical aspects of religion are more developed and prominent in Christianity than in Judaism; it may be that the "paradoxes" of the Sermon on the Mount carry the prophetic morality a stage further. These things may be so. But far more true it is to stress the agreements than the differences: to stress the fact that Judaism stands for the venture of Theism, for the God who has relations with man, and with whom man can have relations: for the God who is "our Father and King," for the God who is served by wisdom, by righteousness, by compassion, by love. Christendom may have often failed to serve this God rightly. But so far as it acknowledges Him and would thus, at any rate, seek to serve Him, the Jew desires to stand, and claims the right to stand, shoulder to shoulder with his Christian brother and fellow citizen in a common fight and in a common service.



JEWISH CEREMONIAL SHOPHAR OR TRUMPET.



COVERING FOR THE SCROLL OF THE LAW.



JEWISH HANGING LAMP.



AN ARABIAN JEW.



MOHAMMEDANS AT PRAYER.

CHAPTER XXI

A MOHAMMEDAN VIEW OF CHRISTENDOM

By S. KHUDA BUKHSH

In this chapter a leading Mohammedan publicist points out the difference and the similarity between the teaching of Christ and of Mohammed. Not only ideas, but instances of New Testament phraseology are to be found in the religious language of the Moslems.

CLOSELY related, as they are, Islam and Christianity should be carefully studied, not to accentuate differences, but to emphasize the points on which they agree; for on their mutual good-will in large measure depends the future of Asia, if not of the whole world. On the whole happy and harmonious until about 1000 A.D., their relations were then affected by mutual suspicion; the seeds were then sown of a hostility which has not yet quite ceased to bear poisonous fruit. We will not pause to inquire here into the nature of those suspicions, which were partly political, partly religious. The spirit of hostility which marked the writings of early European scholars curiously continued in all its fanatical fervour till 1829, the date of the appearance of "Mahometanism Unveiled," by Charles Foster.

But things are changing to-day, and happily for the better. Mohammed is no longer deemed an impostor, but a reformer of world-wide importance; Islam is no longer regarded merely as a religion propagated at the point of the sword; Islamic culture is no longer considered a curse, but a stage in human progress for a great portion of the human race. This change is very gratifying, welcome, and reassuring. And, indeed, when we consider the many similarities subsisting between true Islam and true Christianity, we fail to see (now that "Arabism" is of the past) why there should be any hostility, or even estrangement, between the two cults.

For what else is Islam but a revised edition of Judaism and Christianity? Mohammed never claimed originality. He insisted, he emphasized, in season and out, that his mission was but to rid

Judaism and Christianity of what he regarded as life-destroying accretions—to proclaim their pristine purity—to enthrone in the hearts of men the *DIN* of Abraham, in its undimmed excellence ! Did it not set itself against paganism, with its gross fetishism, hideous morality, narrow outlook, cruelty, barbarism, the cult of the family and the tribe ? Eclectic was Mohammed's religion. He took from all, and freely—from Judaism, Christianity, Parsiism.

It was not first-hand information that Mohammed had, either of Judaism or of Christianity. The stories told by him are anything but correctly recounted. They abundantly prove that they were drawn from traditions and hearsay and little talks with men at home and abroad. The Koran teems with such stories; and Moslem religious institutions, too, are full of such extraneous influences. A mere glance will suffice. In Islam, by far the most important biblical character is Abraham. Mohammed makes him the builder of the Kaba, and therefore the founder of Mecca, and sees in him his predecessor and model. As regards New Testament characters, Mohammed seems to have had some acquaintance with the history of John the Baptist, and the life of Jesus. John, we are told, is a prophet, and like the prophets, receives a book, i.e., Revelation. Zachariah, his father, is also once mentioned in the list of prophets. Elsewhere he comes in incidentally in connexion with the birth of his son. Zachariah's prayer and its answer are related at some length, following, in the main, the narrative of Luke. As for Jesus, He is always mentioned in connexion with Mary—in fact, there is a tendency to exalt Mary as the chief character. Nor is this altogether surprising, for in Arabia the Collyridians invested her with the name and honours of a goddess. But, quite in keeping with his views regarding Mary, is Mohammed's idea of the Trinity. It is made up, according to him, of Father, Son and Mary. No less in contrast with the Christian record is his version of the Crucifixion and the Redemption through the cross. Mohammed rejects them both. He denies the crucifixion of the Christ, and teaches that Judas was substituted for Him and nailed to the cross, while the Christ himself ascended direct to heaven.

But, whatever the divergences, Islam and Christianity are akin in their veneration for Jesus. Mohammed acknowledges Him as a prophet, and the Moslems never mention his name without the formula "Peace be on Him !" Indian *Shiahs* believe in the reappear-

ance of Christ simultaneously with the last of their twelve *Imams*, and look forward to the amalgamation of the two creeds.

And what is the attitude which the Koran takes up? "Dispute not against those who have received the Scriptures, that is, Jews and Christians, except with gentleness; but say unto them 'We believe in the revelation which hath been sent down to us, and also in that which hath been sent down to you; and our God and your God is one.'" And again in another place: "Verily the Believers, and those who are Jews, those who are Christians and Sabeans, whoever believeth in God, and the last day, and doeth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord, there shall come no fear upon them neither shall they be grieved." And a still more striking passage: "Unto every one have we given a law and a way. Now, if God had pleased, He would surely have made you one people; but He hath made you differ, that He might try you in that which He hath given to each; therefore strive to excel each other in good works. Unto God shall ye all return, and He will tell you that concerning which you have disagreed." Such is the spirit of the Koran—the Bible of Islam.

If the influence of Christianity is profound, no less profound too is the influence of Judaism and Parsiism and Hellenism on Islam. Nowhere was the unity of God so emphatically insisted upon, at the time of the Prophet, as in Judaism, and it is therefore impossible to hold that this fundamental doctrine of Islam came from any other source. Equally striking are other importations from Judaism, but it would take us far afield to deal with them all. Jewish ideas penetrated into Islam in two ways; directly, and through the channel of Christianity. The spirit of Judaism is present, says Becker, either directly or working through Christianity, as an influence, wherever Islam accommodated itself to the new intellectual and spiritual life it had encountered.

But traces of Greek and Persian culture too are discernible in the infant Islam. Whence come they? Through the Semitic dialect known as Aramaic, of course. The Greek and Persian cultures were transmitted to the Arabs through this medium even before the rise of Islam, and the history of Islam shows how potent was this influence about this time.

Islam freely accepted light from many quarters. It modelled its faith on what had gone before it. We find in Islam precisely the

same framework as in Judaism and Christianity: prayer, purification, solemn festivals, scriptures, and prophets. The idea of the Sabbath was accepted in principle, but, instead of Sunday, Friday was chosen. Here palpable is the Parsi influence, which robs the Sabbath of its character as a day of rest. From Parsiism Islam has taken both directly and indirectly. A number of obviously Parsi ideas have passed into Islam through the channel of Jewish books, notably the Talmud. The fast of Ramadhan seems to be an imitation of the Christian Lent; while prostration is apparently an importation from a Judæo-Christian sect. *Sujud* (prostration) was never in vogue among the Arabs.

The process of borrowing continued after the death of the Prophet, and, indeed, on a much grander scale. This was only to be expected. Persia, Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor became provinces of the Moslem Empire, with the result that the entire culture of the subject-races lay before the Moslems to absorb and make their own. In Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Persian garbs we encounter a definite intellectual movement, which perhaps we may best designate Christo-Hellenism. Decisive, alike for Islam and Hellenism, was the incorporation of this culture into the youthful Arab Empire. The Hellenistic culture was revived, reanimated by changed circumstances, by contact with Arabism, by an intellectual clash with a new religion—akin in thought and tendencies. Islam and Arabism, on the other hand, after a century of wrestling and combat, were taken captive by the superior culture of the conquered races. To Hellenism, Arabism furnished its language, and supplied opportunities for wide diffusion; whereas Hellenism repaid its debt to Islam with its wealth of science and art. The clash of mind with mind, the impact of a superior foreign culture, the resulting scepticism and free-thinking, and, consequent upon it, a broad and broadening spirit of toleration—these led to peaceful exchange of ideas between Moslems and Christians, to the advantage of both.

At Damascus, through one portal, both Moslems and Christians passed to perform their devotions. Christians had not merely free entry at the court of the Caliph, but were entrusted with the most important posts of confidence. Sergius, the father of John of Damascus, enjoyed at the court of Abdul Malik the place of first councillor, and after his death his son was given the same position. A Christian—Al-Akhtal—was even the official court-poet of the

Omayyads. So favourable, indeed, was the position of the Christians, that they were even allowed to enter the mosques unmolested, and go about in public adorned with the golden cross. The toleration accorded to the Christians by the Caliphs must, of necessity, have encouraged frequent intercourse with Moslems.

By associating with Greek theologians, disciplined in the art of dialectics, the Arabs first learnt philosophical reasoning, which later on they prized so highly. It was from the Greeks again that they received their first lesson in dogmatic subtleties—an art in which Byzantine scholarship revelled. Foremost is the inquiry into the essence and attributes of God, which fills the first place in the writings both of the Greek Fathers and of the oldest Arab theologians. The oldest Moslem theologians, just as much as the Fathers of the Greek Church, busy themselves with discussions about fate and free-will. In opposition to the Western Church, the Fathers of the Greek Church declare themselves against the “eternity of the punishment of Hell,” and the very same view was taken by the oldest theological school of Islam, known as the Murjiah. Nor is the Christian idea of penance absent in Islamism. The more we carefully examine this subject, the more we find the pervading influence of Christianity on Islam. Its founder freely made use of Christianity, and the example set by him was followed by his votaries.

Amazing is the influence which the didactic utterances to be met with in the Gospels exercised on the development of Moslem precepts as unfolded in the literature connected with the *Hadith* (the body of traditions relating to Mohammed). Among those whom God will protect with His shadow on the Day of Judgment is mentioned “The man who does good but keeps it a secret, so that his left hand knows not what his right hand has done.” We also come across, in the Moslem tradition, a paraphrase of the saying “Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s.” The passages in the New Testament relating to the beatitude of the poor and their advantage over the rich, and the obstacles of the latter to entering the kingdom of heaven, an idea quite opposed to the Arab conception of life, find continual echo in the speeches of Mohammed and those of the oldest Moslem theologians. “I stood (said the Prophet) at the gate of paradise, and observed that the majority of those who found admission there were poor; while the people of wealth were kept away from it.”

Handhalah-al-Abshami relates: Never a company meets, and mentions the name of God, but a voice from heaven calls out to it: "Rise, for I have forgiven you and converted your evil into good deeds." We cannot fail to notice the influence of Matthew ix. 2-7 on this saying. Similarly the glorification of the "poor in spirit" (Matthew v. 3) is found in the Moslem saying "the simple (the innocent) will form the largest portion of the inhabitants of paradise." In close relation to Matthew x. 16 stands the saying reported by the companions of the Prophet, "Be innocent like doves." Of obvious and unmistakably biblical origin is the use which is made in the *Hadith* of the Paternoster. The Prophet is reported by Abu Darda, the first *Kadhi* of Damascus, to have said: "If anybody suffers, or if anyone's brother suffers, let him say 'Our Lord God who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom is in Heaven and on Earth; just as Thy mercy reigns in Heaven, so show Thy mercy on Earth; forgive us our faults and our sins. Thou art the God of the virtuous. Send down (a portion) of Thy mercy and Thy healing power on this pain, so that it may be healed.'"

Not only the ideas, but even instances of New Testament phraseology, are to be found in the religious language of the Moslems. Very early did the expression occurring in Matthew vii. 5, "mote and beam," pass into Moslem literature. Even Matthew v. 13 passed in an apocryphal tradition as a saying of the Prophet about his companions: "My companions bear the same relation to my community as salt does to food, for without salt food is no good." Similarly, Matthew vii. 6 is echoed in the saying, "He who wastes learning upon people who are unworthy of it resembles one who casts pearls before swine."

Though Islam resisted the creation of a priesthood, yet to Christian influence we must ascribe the gradual growth and establishment of a sacerdotal class in Islam—the exponents of moral principles and legal theories. In course of time they assumed an importance not unlike the scribes under Judaism or the clergy in the Christian Church. They professed themselves the custodians of religion and censors of thought. The *Sunna*—obedience—the imitation of Mohammed—the desire to emulate him in the smallest details of life, reproduces in Islam the Christian practice of gaining eternal life by following Christ. Nor does the parallel break down in the sphere of politics. According to an Arab proverb, religion and kingship

are twin-born. This feature of the Islamic state, Ibn Khaldun, the great Arab historian, emphasizes by saying that the spiritual and temporal power, here, are one and indivisible. The idea of a divine polity is thus an idea at once common to Islam and Christianity. Both of these religions disapproved of a State independent of religion, both sought to effect the union of the two, with enormous differences.

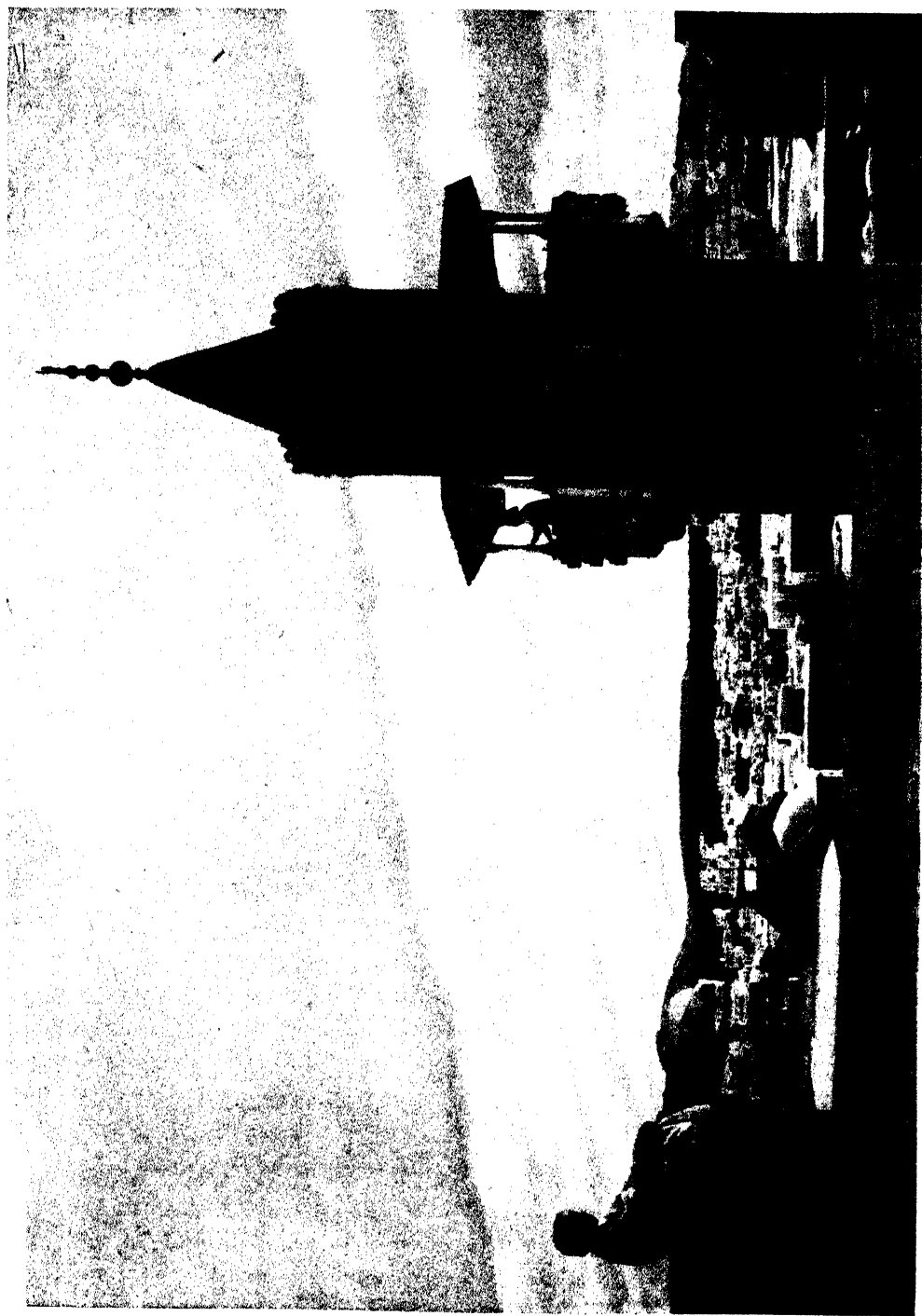
We must now pass on to the influence of Islam upon Christendom. Very early, says Haines, did Spain "gain a reputation for introducing innovations into the doctrines and practices of the true faith, and even of priding itself on its ingenuity in this way, 'Let us, now, take the several heresies which bear traces of Islam.'" During the eighth century a heresy is said to have arisen in Septimania (Gothic Gaul) which denied the need of confession to a priest, on the ground that men ought to confess to God alone. This heresy is clearly traceable to Islamic ideas, which the Christians of Septimania could not have escaped. Islam admits no priest, and hence no confession, save to God. But this heresy is small and negligible compared to the view of the Trinity held by Migetus (*circa* 750 A.D.), who denied the divinity of the Word—thereby making an approach to Islam. But both these are cast into the shade by the adoptionist heresy, in which the influence of Islam is not only obvious but is even acknowledged by eminent writers on Church history. Mariana, the Spanish historian, and Baronius, the apologist of the Roman Church, held that the object of the new heresiarchs was "by lowering the character of Christ, to pave the way for a union between Christians and Mohammedans." Nor can the Iconoclastic movement, fraught as it was with ominous consequences to the Byzantine Empire, be said to have been free from Islamic influences. To mention but one fact—Claudius, the Bishop of Turin (appointed in 828), who set to work to deface, burn, destroy all images and crosses in his bishopric, was born and bred in Moslem Spain. This Claudius—so his opponents tell us—saw much in Islam and the Moslems to appreciate and admire. Their verdict is: "The Jews praised him and called him the wisest among the Christians, and he, on his part, highly commended them and the Saracens."

Islam is said by some to be hide-bound, narrow, averse from advancing with the times. No charge could be less in accord with the judgment of history. It is not only now that Islam has been

accommodating itself to the needs of the times. There has been age-long war between the party of acceleration and the reactionaries—the party calling for the brake. But the liberal exponents—throughout Islamic history—have invariably won the day. Islam, as understood and interpreted by its liberal exponents, has never stood in the way of necessary changes to meet changed conditions. In the course of centuries, like other religions, Islam has yielded to the pressure of progressive ideas. But, in effecting these changes, Islam adopted a method which was exclusively its own.

The old Arabs had a body of inherited views and practices which were the universally accepted standard of good or evil. Conformity to them was a duty; deviation from them a crime. We can imagine what hold such a heritage had on the Arab mind by the incontestible fact that the main ground of opposition to the Prophet's teachings was that he defied inherited views and challenged established practices. His teachings were not condemned on their merits. With the triumph of Islam the old *Sunna* of the Arabs was changed for the new *Sunna* of the conquering faith. This new *Sunna*—though widely differing from its predecessor—was like it in one respect—its universally binding force. The ideals and usages of the Prophet and his companions henceforward became the standard of excellence, the rule of conduct, the kindly light of guidance. The result was that all views and practices not strictly in accordance with the *Sunna* were regarded as *Bid'a*—innovation—and, as such, were to be ruled out by the faithful. This rigid principle, so fatal to progress, could not long endure unbroken; and, as a matter of fact, it was broken in upon at an early date.

After the victories of Islam and the establishment of the Moslem Empire, new needs arose, new problems called for solution, fresh administrative measures forced themselves upon the attention of the conquerors. All had to be faced and met. The *Sunna*, as it lay to hand, forged amid simple conditions of life, could not, in the nature of things, deal with the complex situation that had now arisen. The difficulty was solved in a practical way. Moslem jurists and statesmen—always fertile in resources to meet the exigencies of the times—put forward the theory that, in certain circumstances, *Bid'a* was permissible. This opened the door for reform; this led to the path of progress. The rigidity of orthodoxy could always be softened, or even, as was actually the case, circumvented, by this



all-powerful theory, sanctioning innovation in certain circumstances. The channel through which it was effected was *Ijma*—consensus of opinion. It was laid down that long-standing usage legalized a practice, though not in conformity with, nay, even in opposition to, the practices of an earlier age. To such a practice *Ijma* gave a prescriptive title, an authority, a binding force, which could not be assailed or called in question.

The necessity for conforming to altered conditions became clearer and clearer and more and more insistent as the years went by, until popular opinion accepted the view that departures from *Sunna*, to suit the needs of the times, were in no way inconsistent with Islam. This was a long step forward. In one of the four orthodox sects, the one linked with the name of Malik Ibn Anas, the *Maslaha, utilitas publica*, or the common interest, was recognized as the normal point of view in the application of law. It was permitted to deviate from the normal law if it could be shown that the interest of the community demanded a different decision from that given in the law, corresponding to the principle of *corrigerere jus propter utilitatem publicam* in Roman Law. This liberty, to be sure, is restricted to each case as it arises, and does not carry with it a definite setting aside of the law. But the principle involved is, in itself, an indication of willingness to make concessions within the law.

But the modern world has witnessed, and is actually witnessing to-day, most amazing developments in Islam. Western influences have powerfully leavened Moslem thought, just as Christian thought influenced Islam at its birth and during its adolescence. This for two reasons: Western influences do not, in any way, affect the central unity of Moslem thought; and, again, in Islam there is no opposing force, such as an Œcumenical Council, to combat or thwart such influences. The unity of Moslem thought consists in the belief that there is one God, and that Mohammed is His apostle. The rest does not count, or counts very little. Coupled with this is the absence of any recognized ecclesiastical authority, to call a halt to the advance of modernism, or to punish departures from the path of strict orthodoxy. The cries of "Heresy," not infrequently heard, soon die away. The heretic of one age is the apostle of the next. Was not Sir Syed Ahmad of Aligarh such a one? Western civilization has shaken Moslems out of their slumber. Everywhere—in India, in Egypt, in Persia, in Turkey—wheresoever we turn, Moslems are

pulsing with new life, viewing problems from the modern standpoint, forging fresh rules of religious interpretation, reconciling the needs of the hour with their allegiance to the past, justifying modern institutions by appeals to the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet, striving to close the breach between the two great sects which divide the Islamic world.

Tremendous changes are being introduced into Islam. Basing themselves on an independent interpretation of the Koran, eminent Moslem scholars are making strenuous efforts to liberate Islam from the fetters of authority, from the dead hand of past ages. Concession to the demands of the times being admitted, these concessions are justified by appeals to the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet. Whether the appeal be real or illusory, the fact of the appeal is one more instance of the utility of legal fiction in the history of human development.

By a special Fatwa the Egyptian *Mufti*, Shaikh Mohammed Abduh (d. 1905), sanctioned the establishment of Savings Banks and the distribution of dividends; and by a similar process, his colleagues in Constantinople enabled the Ottoman Government to issue interest-bearing State bonds. Of a piece with these is the legalization of insurance policies, which the ancient Moslem law, if interpreted strictly, does not appear to permit.

Like the demands for the furtherance of cultural and economic progress, those for modern forms of government are similarly supported through the Koran and the traditions. In politics, too, the justification for parliamentary government is found in the Koran, and the Shiite Mullahs base the claims of the revolutionists on the doctrine of the hidden Imam. But yet wider movements are the flower and fruit of Western culture in Eastern lands.

Look at the Babi movement in Persia! What else is that but a war-cry against the petrified theology and outworn legal conceptions of the Mullahs? What else but an attack upon their hypocrisy and worldliness? What else but an attempt to establish a more equitable social order? The founder of Babiism combines Pythagorean subtleties with a distinctly modern point of view.

Bahaism, an offshoot of Babiism, takes us a step further on the path of liberalism. "While Bab, at bottom," says Goldziher, "was only a reformer of Islam, Baha advanced to the larger conception of a world-religion which was to unite all mankind in a religious

brotherhood. As, in his political teachings, he professes cosmopolitanism—emphasizing that there is no preference to be given to him who loves his country over him who loves humanity—his religion in this matter was stripped of all narrow sectarianism.”

Nor is India behindhand. Here, too, Mirza Gholam Ahmad of Qadian has inaugurated a religious movement of tremendous force and potency. He condemns fanaticism, advocates peace and tolerance; seeks to create an atmosphere favourable to culture; and stresses the necessity of the ethical virtues for Moslems. It were idle to deny the great gifts made to the East by Christendom. As a civilization, it has permeated Eastern life through and through in all its phases and aspects, social, intellectual, economic, religious. It has taught the spirit of compromise, and the necessity for concession to modern thought. It has weakened the force of merely inherited ideas and customs. It has slackened the hold of unreasoning orthodoxy, and driven home the need for a critical differentiation between fundamental principles and mere fleeting accretions. It has helped the faithful to realize that their paradise can be found as assuredly on this earth as it is said to await them in the life beyond the grave.

True Islam and true Christianity are akin; the mission of each is fundamentally identical. Let, then, Islam and Christianity be henceforward faithful allies in the liberation of humanity.

CHAPTER XXII

A HINDU VIEW OF CHRISTENDOM

BY KAMAKISH NATARAJAN

In the opinion of the writer the situation in India presents the curious paradox that, though the chances of India's being converted to Christianity were never more remote, the study of the teachings of Jesus as holding the key to the solution of the problems pressing most upon the world was never more earnestly pursued than now by India's leaders and thinkers.

SPEAKING at the annual Buddha celebration at Calcutta in 1924, Mahatma Gandhi said: "Hundreds of Christian friends still consider that I am a Christian and some Christian friends do not even hesitate to ascribe by implication cowardice to me and say to me, 'We know you are a Christian, but you are afraid to own it. Why don't you come forward boldly and say that you believe in Jesus and His salvation?'" He went on to declare: "For me, however, I regard myself as one of the humblest of Hindus, but the deeper I study Hinduism the stronger becomes the belief in me that Hinduism is as broad as the universe and it takes in its hold all that is good in the world. Something within me tells me that for all that deep veneration I show to the several religions, I am all the more, and not the less, a Hindu."

Hinduism makes no distinction between philosophy and religion, and the educated Hindu is brought up to regard the whole universe as the sphere of religion. He feels great difficulty in accepting as his religion a teaching confined to human conduct in the various relations of life. Schopenhauer pointed out as a serious defect in Christianity the lack of just consideration for animals.

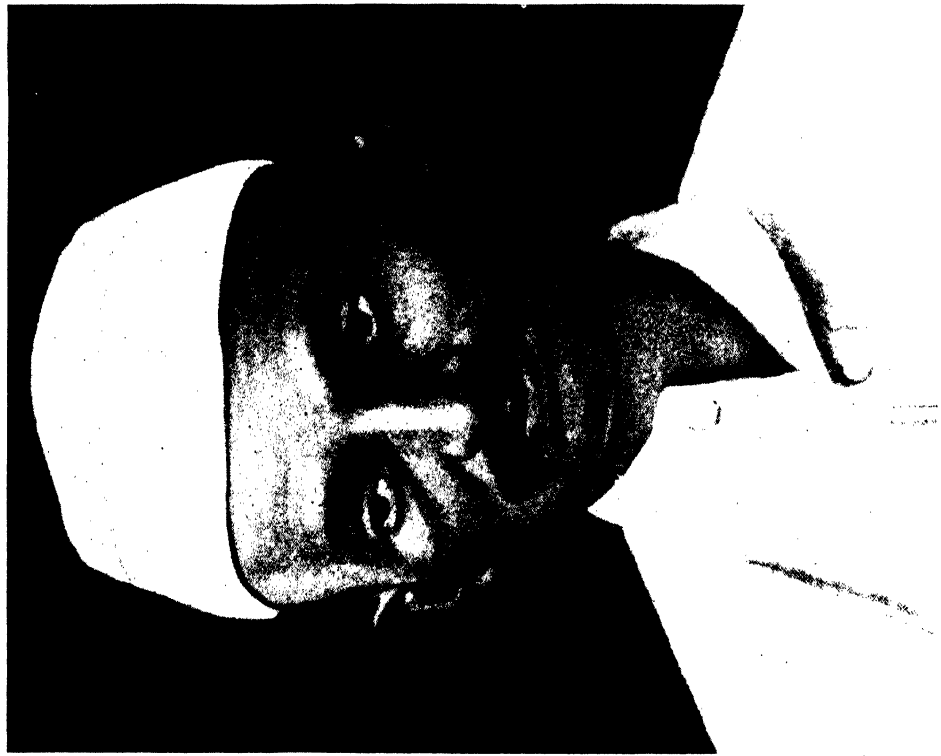
Another matter in which Christianity appears to Hindus to be defective is the absence of a distinct prohibition, such as exists in the Hindu and Mohammedan religions, against the use of wine. The adoption of the policy of prohibition by the United States of America, by constitutional amendment, has produced a deep and lasting impression in Asia. That memorable step brings America



S IN BURMA



MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA.



MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.

in line with Indian national sentiment as embodied in the religious precepts of the two major communities which together make up nearly the whole population of India. The movement to adopt "total prohibition" as the policy of the Indian administration is fast gathering strength, stimulated by America's example. The Protestant Christian Missions are practically unanimous in their support of the movement. Many Indian Christians, on the other hand, including almost the whole body of Roman Catholics, hold that while the ban on liquor may be obligatory on Hindus and Mohammedans, the Christian religion does not require any such abstinence from them. The attitude of the Christian world toward prohibition cannot fail greatly to influence the attitude of the non-Christian world toward Christianity.

If I were asked what the distinctive contribution of Christian thought to Indian thought is, one which cannot be traced to any other religious source, I should unhesitatingly say, the ideal of a single standard in sexual conduct for men and women. Neither Hinduism, nor Islam, nor Buddhism, can claim any share in this ideal which to-day is influencing every social and religious reform movement in India. Many Hindu saints have preached against caste. Islam has often proclaimed in more insistent tones than the Christian Church the brotherhood of man. Buddhism and Sikhism admitted the lowest castes to their folds. But Christianity alone has stood for this single standard for men and women. There is no parallel in any religion to Jesus Christ's memorable rebuke to those who brought before Him the woman taken in adultery and for whom the Jewish law prescribed stoning to death as the penalty: "Let him who is sinless among you, cast the first stone."

India and Asia are in debt to Christianity for this great gift. After all, the main difference between the Asiatic and Western civilizations centres round this point. Turkey, Egypt, India, China, and Japan have now, in principle, accepted this pre-eminently Christian principle. When it is fully infused into their civilizations, as it will soon be, the East and the West will find many barriers, to-day apparently impenetrable between them, give way.

No systems of thought can come in contact, much less remain in contact for so long a period as, in India, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, Parsiism, and Mohammedanism have been in contact with Hinduism, without their influencing one another. India is the one

country in the world in which all these great religions are represented by communities of considerable antiquity. Buddhism is popularly said to have been driven out of India, but really it became absorbed and lives in Hinduism. The Jews found a home in Malabar almost from the date of the Second Dispersion. The Syrian Christians in the same province have a tradition extending almost to the first century after Christ, the Parsis after the Mohammedan conquest of Persia found an asylum in Gujarat and are to-day a flourishing community in Bombay. There were Arab colonies in India even before the rise of Islam, and since then, of course, Mohammedanism has become the religion of the largest number of the people in India next only to Hinduism.

The caste organization of the Hindus was a barrier to social fusion; and as social communication, in the days before the invention of printing, was the main channel of intellectual intercourse, it also operated to a large extent as a hindrance to the free exchange of ideas. This Hindu institution came to be adopted in one form or another by the communities which settled in the country before the Mohammedan conquest. Even the Mohammedans and the later converts to Christianity have not been able altogether to escape the contagion of caste.

But even caste cannot wholly prevent intensely religious communities living side by side from feeling a curiosity to know something of their neighbours' beliefs. Not improbably there was more than one Hindu Nicodemus who sought out by night a leading Jewish or Christian or Zoroastrian teacher to learn from him the secret of his faith. Inquirers of other faiths too must have similarly found means of acquiring some knowledge of the tenets of the vast social-religious system whose hospitality had given them an asylum, such as then was to be found nowhere else, in which they were free to worship God in their own traditional way.

The Christians until the sixteenth century remained as the Jews and Parsis are to-day, a non-proselytizing sect following their ancient customs; and such influence as Christianity exerted on Hindu religious thought was purely doctrinal. The doctrine of Divine Grace, well developed in the Saiva and Vaishnava sects which arose in South India, was probably a result of that early contact with Christianity. In the sixteenth century after Christ, however, active efforts were made by Christian missions to convert

Hindus. The Inquisition was set up at Goa, the capital of Portuguese India, and a considerable number of Hindus were added to the Roman Catholic Church. When ultimately the British East India Company established its supremacy after overthrowing its other European rivals, Christian missionaries were not at first permitted to do propagandist work. This prohibition was subsequently withdrawn; and now for nearly one hundred years various Protestant missions have also been at work. According to the Census of 1921, there are about 4,500,000 Indian Christians in a population of 318,000,000. The Roman Catholics number about 2,500,000 and the remaining 2,000,000 are divided among a dozen or more Protestant denominations, of which the Anglicans and the Baptists, each with about 500,000 adherents, are the two largest.

The earlier Christian missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, sought to make converts from among the Brahmins and higher caste Hindus, and most of the outstanding figures in Indian Christianity were among the converts made by them. This door, however, was closed owing to the activities of religious and social reform movements within Hinduism. The Brahmo Samaj was the first of these movements; its founder, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, had a deep veneration for Jesus Christ. But he was opposed to proselytism, holding that the fundamental principles of all religions were identical; that the Hindu scriptures, rightly interpreted, taught a pure monotheism; and that while Jesus Christ, as one of the world's greatest teachers, must command the reverence of all men, it was quite possible and most desirable that anyone should follow Christ's teachings without cutting himself off from his own social environment and traditional culture.

The Arya Samaj movement, which came later, rejected the broad eclecticism of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, and based itself exclusively upon the oldest Hindu scripture—the Vedas. But both the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj equally stood for social reforms such as the abolition of caste; the redemption of the lowest classes whose mere contact is supposed to defile a person of the higher castes; the education and the elevation of the status of women, and the reform of marriage customs. These two religious reform movements had a great effect in checking conversions to other religions. The late Swami Vivkananda once remarked that but for these two movements a large section of Hindus would have been converted to

Mohammedanism or Christianity. The Swami himself was the originator of a movement for the revival of Hinduism on the basis of the philosophy of the Vedanta (a school teaching the ultimate aim of the Veda). Another movement worthy of note is that represented by the Theosophical Society. All these movements included social service as an essential part of their religious propaganda. This feature of their activities was directly borrowed from Christian Missions and was, in fact, a chief means relied upon to counteract their proselytizing propaganda.

Owing to these and other causes, conversions from among the higher Hindu castes have practically ceased. The bulk of the converts nowadays come from the lower castes. The direct value of these "mass" conversions, as they are called, in setting before India the highest type of Christianity, has, however, not been great. The British Census Superintendent, writing about the Bombay Christian Kolis, remarks, "It is well known that these Christian Kolis combine the worship of idols with the worship of the Christian Trinity, figures of Hindu godlings being kept behind the altar, and covered with a cloth when a priest comes to celebrate mass." The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bombay, the Most Rev. Alban Goodier, says: "Though we call them Christians, one has to give a very broad definition in order to include them." Dr. James Bissett Pratt, in his book "India and Its Faiths," which is the most accurate and impartial work by a foreign observer on the subject that the present writer has seen, observes, "Much the greater proportion of conversions are made from the low castes and the animists; and figures based so largely on success with this inferior part of the population give us absolutely no sort of basis for any sort of prediction as to success among that great mass of higher caste Hindus, Buddhists and Mohammedans who are as yet almost untouched by Christianity as far as Census figures are concerned. Hence I fear that the Census returns will hardly answer our questions; and though it is natural and right that the missionary should scan them with interest, he should not be unduly elated at reported gains nor too much cast down at reported losses. Let him remember the words of Emerson, 'Whenever an appeal to numbers is made, religion is dead.' " The Census Superintendent of the Punjab, also an English officer, writes, "The appeal of Christianity (in so far as it succeeds in obtaining converts) is to the person who can hope for nothing from his own

community and sees in the Christian community a means of bettering his status and the character of his life, while the material benefit offered by the missions in the shape of education, medical relief and general interest in the welfare of their folk are by no means small incentives." (Census of India Report, 1921, pp. 116 and 117.)

From the purely humanitarian point of view, the Christian Missions have rendered and are rendering an important service to the advancement of India by undertaking the redemption of these classes which, until a few years ago, were totally neglected by Hindu reformers. The awakening of the Hindu leaders to their duty to the depressed classes is itself a very important, though incidental, result of the philanthropic work of Christian Missions. To-day the "removal of untouchability" is the first plank in the programme of constructive work which Mahatma Gandhi has placed before India as the surest means of national salvation. The enfranchising of these classes under the reform scheme of the political constitution recently introduced in India is powerfully contributing to secure sympathy for measures for ameliorating their deplorable social and economic condition.

These conversions among the masses, however, have had the effect of setting Christian Missions in antagonism to the movement of Indian nationalism. Sir Valentine Chirol, the English publicist, concludes the chapter on the Depressed Classes in his book, "Indian Unrest," with the significant statement, "From the political point of view the conversion of so many millions of the population of India to the faith of their rulers would open up prospects of such moment that I need not expatiate on them." Several eminent Christian missionaries in India promptly and publicly protested against the suggestion implied in Sir Valentine Chirol's remark when the book was first published fifteen years ago. But the fear that the conversion of the depressed classes to Christianity may be detrimental to the interests of nationalism has undoubtedly been a stimulus to work among these classes by non-Christian agencies.

The danger of a divergence between the courses of Indian Christianity and Indian nationalism, which was a real danger at one stage, has been averted by the wise and far-seeing policy of Indian Christian leaders, supported by the wisest and most experienced European and American missionaries in India. By rejecting

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the proposal to create separate communal electorates for the Indian and Provincial Legislative Councils, such as those accorded to Mohammedans, the National Conference of Indian Christians showed its capacity to sacrifice immediate benefits of a seemingly substantial character to the higher demands of a united Indian nationalism. This decision has had a remarkable effect on the non-Christian attitude towards Christianity. In the Unity Conference held at Delhi, following upon Mahatma Gandhi's memorable twenty-one days' fast, Indian Christian leaders headed by the Bishop Metropolitan of the official Anglican Church in India took a leading part in the deliberations to promote harmonious relations among the several sects and creeds in India. This is not all. A strong movement has arisen in the body of the Indian Christian community itself to link up Christianity with the immemorial religious culture of India, by presenting it in terms and forms which shall be familiar to the Indian mind and shall harmonize with the Indian environment.

Indians recognize quite clearly the distinction between Christianity, or, to be more accurate, the teachings of Jesus Christ, and modern Western civilization. More than one Christian has inquired of me recently whether the World War had materially influenced the Indians' estimation of the Christian religion. It has undoubtedly done much to lower the credit of organized Christianity, but at the same time it has brought into prominent relief the figure of Jesus Christ himself. At no time previously have Hindu and Mohammedan leaders drawn so largely from Christ's teachings in support of their nationalist propaganda as during the last four or five years.

The situation in India to-day presents the curious paradox that, though the chances of India's being converted to Christianity were never more remote, the study of the teachings of Christ Jesus as holding the key to the solution of the problems pressing most upon the world was never more earnestly pursued than now by India's leaders and thinkers.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CHRISTIAN OUTLOOK ON OTHER RELIGIONS

BY PROFESSOR J. N. FARQUHAR, M.A., D.LITT.

How the crude beginnings of religion gave way to the early polytheisms, how they in turn gave place to the great national polytheisms, and those to the spiritual religions. With our scientific knowledge of religion, we can see how Christ's teaching fulfils the best that is contained in other faiths.

THE purpose of this chapter is to set forth as clearly as possible the way in which informed and reflective Christians think with regard to the non-Christian religions. The rise of the study of religions during recent decades to the status of a great and trustworthy science renders it the more possible to write with accuracy.

1. The first element in the Christian outlook is the recognition of the immense importance of religion for the life of man. It is the chief precondition of human health and progress. The work of religion is to reveal to man the ultimate basis of human life. The revelation brought by religion serves man, in the first instance, in two ways: (*a*) by giving men confidence in face of the terrors, dangers, sorrows and sufferings of life, and (*b*) by imposing on each community a moral system, without which regular, organized, healthy life is impossible. Religion is the most precious of all human possessions. Christian men agree with the devotees of non-Christian faiths in their conviction as to the pricelessness of religion.

Thus behind all the religions of the world is *the divine reality*. Each religion is a more or less complete unveiling of the truth about God in His relations with man.

2. But, if the divine reality is behind man's religious life, the immense diversity of religious belief and practice creates a very difficult problem.

Light begins to break in when we compare religion with the other elements of our conscious life. The variant religions of the world

are comparable with the varying forms of science which have arisen in the several civilizations in the course of history, each an attempt to reach the truth about the material world. Similarly they are parallel with the many philosophies which have appeared in the human race, each seeking to create a representation of God, man and the universe which shall appeal to the human mind as reasonable and actual; parallel also with the many forms of government which the races of men have evolved in the course of human history, each an attempt to build a system which shall fit into the actual constitution of man in all his relations with his fellows.

3. Man's life has thus far shown a vast network of efforts to reach the ideal along many lines; and on each line there has been a struggle more or less vehement, more or less peaceful, between competing systems. Yet our day appears to be destined to see events of another order:

In the domain of science, it seems clear that the system which germinated in ancient Greece, and which, in Europe during the last three centuries, has won triumphs such as the mind of man in earlier ages never dreamt of, will be accepted by all the races of man. A similar world-wide agreement and co-operation seems to be coming into being among all the educated races in the field of history; and it is the method of Greece and of modern Europe that in this activity is also being adopted. Education is another of the necessities of civilized life in which men are coming nearer and nearer a harmonious outlook.

Thus the method whereby human experience reaches assured results in the higher aspects of our life seems to be through variation and conflict to harmony; and in religion also we may therefore reasonably expect that the human race will yet achieve something like unity.

4. To the Christian it seems that the history of religion on our planet reveals a constant urge towards clearer light and loftier truth. The following lines give a brief outline of the history:

(a) The bare sheer rudiments of religion as revealed in the remains of Palæolithic and Neolithic man.

(b) The crude polytheisms of early man and of the food-gathering tribes to-day, destitute of literature and of a formed cult.

(c) The cultured polytheisms of Babylonia, Egypt, China, Early India and other lands, which, in the course of the centuries, produced

an educated priesthood, ritual, liturgy, literature, philosophy, theology, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, the drama.

(d) The spiritual religions, which make little of observances, insist on the necessity of the transformation of the human spirit and train men not only for this life but for immortality. The following are the chief faiths of this type, here set out in historical order, dead religions being placed in square brackets:

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|----------------------|
| 1. [The theism of Ikhnaton] | . . . | c. 1375 B.C. |
| 2. The religion of Israel | . . . | |
| 3. Zoroastrianism | . . . | |
| 4. Chinese ethics and philosophy | | |
| Hindu pantheistic monasticism | | |
| 6. Jain atheistic monasticism | | Sixth century B.C. |
| 7. Buddhist atheistic monasticism | | |
| 8. Greek philosophy | | |
| 9. [The Mystery Religions] | . . . | Third century B.C. |
| 10. Christianity | | |
| 11. The Hindu approach to theism | } . . . | First century A.D. |
| 12. The new Buddhism for the laity | | |
| 13. [Manichæism] | . . . | Third century A.D. |
| 14. Islam | . . . | Seventh century A.D. |

5. This history reveals a mighty movement of the human spirit in the search for truth. In the light of these spiritual faiths, we can see that, although the crude religions still survive, they are all doomed, that only a spiritual religion will satisfy the awakened human spirit.

6. With regard to these spiritual religions, it is of great importance to notice that, during the time of their greatest spiritual vision, each one of them, except the Chinese movement, felt the impulse to preach the truth which it had realized to others. The missionary spirit is one of the marks of living spiritual religion.

Ikhnaton asked men outside Egypt to accept the religion of Aton. The Prophets speak of Israel as "a light to lighten the Gentiles"; and proselytes swarmed in all the great cities in the first century of our era. Zoroastrianism won the Parthians, and sent its mystery religion, Mithraism, to every corner of the Roman Empire. Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism had each a mighty missionary movement in India for a thousand years and more. Buddhism was carried to every corner of Asia by her preaching monks, and for a time seemed almost equal to the task of winning the whole continent.

What a contrast these religions present to-day ! Greek philosophy had its adherents in all parts of the Roman Empire in the early centuries; and, as an integral part of organized Christianity, now goes out to win the world. The Mystery Religions were preached throughout the sphere of Græco-Roman civilization for six centuries. Manichæism stretched from China to Europe and Northern Africa, and actually counted the young Augustine among its converts for a few years. Thus all these spiritual religions went out to win men in every direction.

If a religion contains the actual truth about man's relation to the spiritual world, clearly that religion ought to be placed within every man's reach. Thus the conception of spiritual religion is in itself necessarily related to the whole human race.

7. Among religions which are to-day accepted and followed by cultured men are Shinto, which is the religion of the Japanese race, Chinese Philosophy and Ethics, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Islam, Judaism. We may therefore endeavour to indicate how these religions appear from the Christian standpoint.

A. Shinto is a primitive nature-worship, in which food and drink are offered to the divinities, with an accompanying liturgy of praise. The religion has had a considerable influence on Japanese character, despite the fact that it contains no ethics; for it has bound the people to the imperial family, and, from the twelfth century, has taught them Bushido, "knightly behaviour." Yet it cannot be called a spiritual religion.

B. Chinese Religion consists, fundamentally, of nature-worship and ancestor-worship, the former centralized and controlled in its more important elements by the Government. But the spiritual element comes from the ethics and patriotism of Confucius, on the one hand, and the various philosophies of China, on the other. From this higher source cultured Chinese receive a good deal of help; but the common people are left altogether to the fear of evil spirits and the traditional cult.

We do not wonder that, when Buddhism, in its best days, appeared in both China and Japan, it found a ready welcome. It has been on the whole a healthy leaven. But the great success of Buddhism is proof of the extreme poverty of the two ancestral faiths.

8. We take next the three world-famous religions which belong to ancient India, Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism:

Hinduism, the religion of two-thirds of the population of India, is the only living survivor of the great group of cultured polytheisms which lighted up the ancient world. It is first revealed to us in that wonderful mirror, the "Rigveda," which is 3,000 years old; and it has gone forward quietly changing, yet retaining its main features, during those thirty centuries. Apart from spiritual movements, the chief changes to note are the rise of Caste (*c.* 800 B.C.), of Transmigration (*c.* 650 B.C.), and of Temple-and-Image worship (*c.* 400 B.C.). To the vast mass of its followers it is simply an ordinary polytheism.

But there are two spiritual crises in its history, both of great interest:

I. All Hindus accepted the doctrine of Transmigration as true without demur; but there were groups of men of spiritual outlook to whom the prospect of never-ending rebirth into this unsatisfactory world with all its gins and snares for human souls was utterly intolerable. They were driven, by inner necessity, to discover a means of Release from the dreadful doom of endless rebirth. During the sixth century B.C. many ways of Release were suggested, of which three fall to be considered:

(*a*) The man who can realize the identity of his own soul (*ātman*, i.e. self) with the pantheistic Supreme (the *Ātman*) is thereby delivered from Rebirth. This is the solution adopted by Hindus; and the belief created the greatest of the Indian philosophies, the *Vedānta*.

(*b*) The man who will accept the teaching of *Mahāvīra* and will act in accordance with it will find Release. This is the Jain solution.

(*c*) The man who will accept the teaching of the Buddha and will live in one of his monasteries the life prescribed by him will find Release. This is the Buddhist solution.

The chief point to be grasped with regard to these systems is this, that they are open only to the man who gives up marriage, home, occupation, property and profession, and as a monk devotes his whole time to finding Release for himself. There is no spiritual salvation offered to the married man, the married woman or the child. These three theories of Release demand monasticism. Jainism and Buddhism are also atheistic systems.

The first and the second are still practised in India; and the third is still the basis of the Buddhism of Burma, Ceylon and Siam.

II. But by the Christian era it had become clear to observers in India that monastic salvation was not sufficient, that a spiritual religion for the layman and his wife and family was what was wanted. Hence, towards the close of the first century A.D. two new systems arose:

(a) In Hinduism the god Krishna, who, in early myths, was said to have been sent down from heaven to rid the earth of monsters, was already worshipped by a sect as the greatest of the gods. A poem, the *Bhagavadgītā*, was now written in which he was declared to be the one god of the world, personal and supreme. He was also represented as having become incarnate in the distant past and as having taught men *then* that all who take refuge in him will find Release. A good deal might be said in commendation of the ideas set forth in the system, but the whole story is simply a myth.

Thus arose Hindu theism. But it is only the first of a group. For every other Hindu sect thereafter made similar claims for its own god. Thus not only Krishna, but Brahmā, Vishnu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Rāma, Narasimha, and a goddess, Durgā, were each exalted to the position of Supreme; so that there are at least nine warring systems, each claiming to be Theism. Further, in each sect, the Supreme has two or more consorts; and all the other gods of the Hindu pantheon are acknowledged. Finally the only form of worship in use is idolatry. Can we apply the term Monotheism to these theologies?

(b) About the same time, a spiritual religion for the layman and his wife came to the birth in Buddhism. Now Buddhism was an atheism; but the worship of a god or gods was clearly essential for the laity. How was this to be provided in an atheistic religion? They took the very man who denied the existence of God, Gautama the Buddha, and exalted him to the position of the Supreme, *Devārideva*, "The god above the gods," while his chief companions and certain mythical personages became the ordinary gods of the Buddhist pantheon. The worship was simply Hindu image-worship applied to Buddhist persons. Thus does Buddhist history provide an absolute demonstration of the futility of atheism.

The ascetic movement for the winning of spiritual Release is unquestionably the greatest thing in the history of Indian religion. But the movement is largely a failure. Buddhism has died out of India altogether; Jainism is dying before our eyes, as the census

returns show, and all Jains acknowledge; and the Hindu ascetic movement has altogether failed to change the mass of Hindu people: there are 200,000,000 of untrained folk, simple, kindly people, worshipping many gods by means of images and using many forms of magic, as their forefathers did two thousand years ago.

What do modern Hindus think of Hindu ascetics to-day? The latest book, "Hinduism," by Govinda Das of Benares (Madras, 1924), written to rouse Hindus to join in a great movement to defend and save Hinduism, describes them in these words: "our fifty lakhs (5,000,000) of immoral 'ascetics' who roam over the land devouring the substance of honest, hard-working but foolish house holders." Mrs. Besant, champion of Oriental religions, said in one of her speeches, "They did not want thousands of idle beggars in the garb of Sannyāsīs, but a large number of brahmachārīs (i.e., celibates) who would sacrifice five or six years of their lives and wander from village to village, educating every child, sacrificing themselves for the people, instead of going to jungles or caves, seeking liberation for themselves."

Hindus and Mrs. Besant have seen the missionary toiling in India, actually uplifting the outcast, educating the ignorant, the neglected, the blind, the dumb, and healing the sick. He is the ideal which they contrast with the useless ascetic, who does nothing.

How does Christ succeed, while Indian religions fail? Because He not only lived far above the grip of worldly things, but loved men with an inexhaustible love, served them in all their needs, and died on the Cross for us all, in order that we too might die to all the glitter of the world, and might win for ourselves and others that conscious personal fellowship with the Father, which was the secret of His joy, and that clear-sighted love for men, women, and children, which made Him the greatest public servant the world has ever seen.

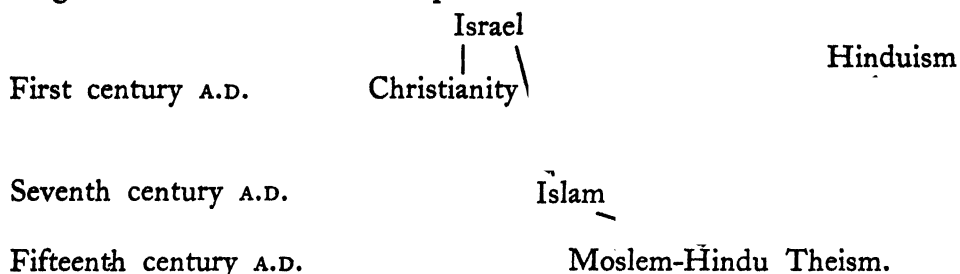
Buddhism is now a spent force in the Far East as well. There are a few Buddhists who, like the Hindus we have been dealing with, wish to rouse it to a new Missionary life; but there is no possibility of its success. It has still many millions of followers but there is no progressive force in it, nothing that can stir the nations.

9. We now turn to the monotheistic religions. The following seems to be the order in which they arose; but scholars are not yet agreed as to the dates of A and B:

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- A. The religion of Israel, now called Judaism.
- B. Zoroastrianism.
- C. First cent. A.D. . . . Christianity.
- D. Seventh cent. A.D. . . Islam.
- E. Fifteenth cent. A.D.. Moslem-Hindu theism in India.

The religion of Israel is probably the earliest of all monotheisms. Zoroastrianism, which arose in Persia at an early but unknown date, is clearly quite independent in origin; but all the other monotheisms are closely dependent on the religion of Israel. The following diagram shows the relationships:



Moslems frankly acknowledge that most of the teaching of Islam comes from Judaism and Christianity. There is also a third source, viz., Arab life, whence come many observances, customs and laws, which in large measure give the religion its peculiar flavour.

Mohammed was a genuinely religious man and a religious and political leader of extraordinary insight and many capacities. He realized to the full that the Arabs needed a spiritual religion like Christianity and Judaism; and the strength and rapid growth of Islam are full proof of the very great success he had in creating a faith for them. But his life was lived in a backwater, not in the mid-stream of seventh-century civilization. That is the explanation of the startling fact that he had read neither the Old Testament nor the New. In consequence, his knowledge of the two religions was fragmentary and inaccurate. Hence, in every aspect except one, Islam is a less spiritual religion than Judaism, not to speak of Christianity. The one characteristic in which the new religion is truly greater than Judaism is its living and vigorous universalism. Moslems not only believe that Islam is the religion for all men, but spend a very great deal of energy in its propagation, while modern Israel has lost the soaring Missionary enthusiasm of her greatest teachers.

Zoroastrianism is a lofty theism which has greatly interested

scholars and drawn many notable commendations from them. As it appears in the "Gāthās," the hymns of Zoroaster, it is an absolutely frank monotheism, without any taint of polytheism. Its doctrine of Ahriman, the spirit of evil, may for a time have drawn the religion near the verge of the abyss of dualism; but the danger passed. Its ethics are clear and good; and the results which it produces in the lives of the Parsees are manifestly healthy. Yet the religion is threatened with extinction, for its adherents number only 100,000; and the Parsees, instead of preaching their faith to others, have made a law to the effect that no outsider can be allowed to enter their community.

Of Moslem-Hindu theism, we need only say that, although it has existed in India for nearly five centuries, it shows no sign of growth or development. One of the main difficulties the movement has to contend with is this, that Hindu worship is more attractive and much richer emotionally than any cult these small non-idolatrous groups can offer. They tend to develop either bibliolatry, as has happened to the Sikhs, or man-worship, as has happened to the followers of Kabīr.

Since the Christian era, there has been an extraordinary advance of monotheism. When the new era dawned, there were only two organized groups of theists in the whole world, the Zoroastrians of Persia and the Jews; and the two, taken together, were but a small fraction of the human race then. It is impossible to give an accurate religious census of the world to-day; but the following forms as close an approximation to accuracy, with regard to the chief religions, as is attainable. Theists are summed up in a column by themselves:

	Millions.	Theists. Millions.
Christianity	557	557
Chinese religion	300	—
Islam	234	234
Hinduism.	217	—
Buddhism.	137	—
Shinto	16	—
Judaism	11	11
Moslem-Hindu theism in India	5	5
Jainism	1	—
Zoroastrianism	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$
		807 $\frac{1}{10}$

Large numbers of intelligent Hindus who call themselves theists might also be added to this number; but, as we have seen, their theism is still so seriously entangled in polytheism that we had better not strain the evidence by including them. Yet they form another piece of evidence that spiritual religion longs for the one God and Father of men.

Here we have before us then the plain fact that to-day almost half the population of the world profess some form of monotheism; for the human race numbers at present some sixteen to eighteen hundred millions. The change since the Christian era is thus gigantic, and of startling significance as to the influence of Christianity.

10. One of the most remarkable features of the teaching of Christ is the way in which He held that His work was related to the religion of Israel and other faiths: His phrase is, "I came not to destroy but to fulfil."

We have seen how the crude beginnings of religion gave way to the early polytheisms, how they in turn gave place to the great national polytheisms, and those to the spiritual religions. Christ came to complete the whole development, to "fulfil" the process, by leading men into *the religion for all men*. In theology, in morality, in organization, in worship, great changes were necessary, if all men were to be brought together as one family to worship the Father. That is Christ's work of fulfilment. In the Sermon on the Mount He illustrates His method by showing how He lifts Jewish moral laws up to the ideal; and other instances occur in His teaching elsewhere. With our scientific knowledge of religion, we can see how His teaching fulfils the best that is contained in other faiths.

Hinduism has its divine incarnations, but they are utterly mythical. They enable us to hear the cry of the human heart for God manifest in the flesh; but the only actual fulfilment is the historical person Jesus, the incarnate Son, the image of God, who brings us the knowledge of our Father and His love.

In Christ "the Heavenly Father" is no pretty phrase, but an accurate summing up of the relation of God to men. The human spirit is formed in God's image; so that we are actually His children. He loves us tenderly, and therefore sent His Son to live and die for us, in order that, becoming conscious of our sonship, we might live worthily of our Father, and come at last to His home. This doctrine "fulfils" the many references in the religions to God as Father.

Zoroaster taught his fellow-countrymen about the one God; but he did not know Him as the Father; nor was he conscious of all that was needed to make a perfect religion. His work finds its necessary complement in the life, death and teaching of Jesus.

More than any other Founder, the Buddha, in his gentleness, sympathy and reasonableness and in his insight into human character, reminds us of Jesus; but he did not know God at all; and he had no salvation except for the monk and the nun. The vast majority of mankind must always live in the family. So Jesus came to "fulfil" the work of the Buddha, to show that mankind is God's family and that He has sent His beloved Son to live and die for us, in order that the simplest and the humblest may learn the way to the Father's home.

11. An arresting proof of the universal value and vital force of Christianity is visible in many lands of the East to-day. European trade and government have gone to most countries, and Christian missions are almost as ubiquitous. As a result of the impact of our civilization, represented by European trade and rule, and of Western education and Christian teaching, presented by missionaries, many fresh organizations have appeared, most of them religious but many social or educational. Most of these new societies are created to counteract the work of missions; but many exist for the purpose of introducing certain aspects of Christian life and teaching into the life of the peoples.

Thus in India we find scores of new religious foundations, all meant to keep Hindus, Jains, Moslems, Sikhs or Zoroastrians from becoming Christians, yet all teaching a certain amount of Christianity; and many Social Reform societies, created for the very purpose of getting rid of caste, the disabilities of the outcast, polygamy, the enforced celibacy of widows, child-marriage, etc. Christ is everywhere greatly revered among educated men in India. Mr. Gandhi calls Him the Ideal Man; and there are comparatively few cultured Hindus or Jains who do not agree with him. The same idea is common in cultured circles in China.

In most of the new religious organizations, monotheism and the Fatherhood of God are taught, and worship is modelled on Christian services. Men avow that they do not need Christianity; but they are introducing large parts of Christ's message into their lives; and

we remember what went on in the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries of our era.

Turn to Turkey. Not only are many individual men and women breaking from Moslem social law: fresh moral and social legislation is being passed, which introduces large elements of the teaching of Christ into Turkish life. Polygamy has been forbidden; unrestricted divorce and the veil are no longer legal; and women have much liberty. The Turks are accepting these as necessary for a vigorous national life, scarcely realizing that, in accepting Christ's social principles, they are repudiating the foundations of Islam. They too are repeating what Greeks and Romans did in the early centuries.

Thus, the opposition of the East to Christ is as significant as the homage of those who accept Him.

BOOK V

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCHES

After an examination of the relations of Christianity to the various civil communities, we reach finally the relation of Christianity to the one specifically Christian community, the Church. What is the Church? What functions in its service can be exercised by women? What do non-Churchmen think of the Church? How do Churchmen regard such criticism? And—most debated question of all to-day—how can the Church attain to visible unity?

Chapter XXIV. THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH

XXV. WOMEN AND THE CHURCHES

XXVI. A CHRISTIAN'S CRITICISM OF THE CHURCHES

XXVII. THE CHURCH'S VIEW OF NON- CHURCHMANSHIP

XXVIII. MOVEMENTS TOWARDS CHRIS- TIAN UNITY

CHAPTER XXIV

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH

BY THE REV. W. E. ORCHARD, D.D.

A distinguished scholar and preacher who stands somewhat apart from traditional lines here sets out the prevailing conceptions of the Church that are held by various religious thinkers, and then proposes a plan for their reconciliation. His plan is that of organic unity.

IT is a most remarkable thing that while churchmen lay so much emphasis upon the priority, the supremacy and the necessity of the Church, even among themselves there should be such a complete absence of agreement as to the nature and function of the Church. There is, indeed, agreement that the Church is a Body of Christ, but this is only a description and not a definition. For although this name, the Body of Christ, describes it as a body which may have many members with varying functions, there is no manner of agreement as to who are members of the body; that is to say, there is no agreed definition of the Church which would enable anyone to decide where the centre and circumference of the Church are to be found, and, in the case of dispute or pretension, how the true Church is to be distinguished. But before this vagueness of definition and the disagreement as to its application are thought to make the subject unworthy of consideration by serious-minded persons, it may be well to recollect that similar conditions prevail when we come to define and analyse, to distinguish and demonstrate the presence and activity of say, such things as "life," in the biological sense of the word, or electricity as a physical force. This confusion as to the nature of the Church is possibly due to the desire of many organizations and individuals who, while anxious to repudiate certain conceptions of the Church, and feeling it essential to truth or holiness to separate themselves from superstitions and corruptions which have overtaken ancient branches of the Church, are none the less anxious to be reckoned as members of the Body of Christ.

This desire to retain some connexion with the Church of Christ may sometimes seem only a persistent superstition, or indicate a merely selfish concern for individual salvation. But it is, in reality, as we shall endeavour to show, an instinct which goes down to a profound social consciousness, and is of the utmost importance to the redemption of our race. It shall be our task, therefore, in the following pages, to endeavour to bring home to all concerned for our common humanity such a conception of the value of the Church as will enable them to gain an interest in those ecclesiastical discussions and disagreements from which the modern man is generally prone to turn in disappointment or contempt. The very violence with which these discussions have often been carried on, the minute points which have given rise to sectarian differences, are in themselves evidence that something of profound importance is at stake. Men do not generally quarrel so long and so bitterly about things of no moment.

If there is confusion as to the very nature of the Church, even among those who claim to belong to it, this can however be matched by the confusion concerning the function of the Church which is sometimes betrayed by those who criticize it from without. It is no uncommon thing to meet with a type of criticism directed against the Church which combines a complete denial of its supernatural character together with a caustic condemnation of the Church for not presenting an appearance, or failing to initiate some action which could be expected only of an entirely supernatural body. It ought to be remembered that while the Church does make supernatural claims concerning its foundation, its power, its purpose and its persistence, it is admitted that all are ministered in and through natural and human means, so that in this admixture the divine element suffers a certain hindrance and must continue to do so until the perfection of the Church has been completed. Nevertheless, if at any time the human element so hindered, obscured or corrupted the divine element that it altogether disappeared or became completely inoperative, then the supernatural claims of the Church would certainly have to be surrendered. Sometimes when churchmen defend the Church, they seem to forget that it is a Body concerning which supernatural claims are made; while critics from without sometimes forget that the Church must have its human side. But if the total history of the Church is taken into

account—its persistence under persecution, its constant reformation and recovery, its subsisting unity underlying all schism and separation, its glorious succession of martyrs, saints, prophets, philanthropists and benefactors of humanity—few could fairly deny the evidence of its supernatural character.

If all mankind must be considered as capable of being included in the Church of God, humanity can therefore be regarded as the potential Body of Christ. We need only regard the actual Church as that portion of mankind which has become conscious of God's purpose towards humanity, and is already endeavouring to bring itself into line with the Divine Will; its purpose purely preparatory, and its existence only instrumental for gathering all men into the fold of Christ. Here then we have in the Church an idea that will be admitted, at least by all religiously-minded persons, to be a conception of the highest possible inspiration, and an institution of the greatest possible promise for the redemption of society and the welfare of the world. We can therefore enter upon the discussions and disagreements incident to this subject with some hope that they will be worth our study, and perhaps with the hope that we may discover in what direction a reconciliation of opposing conceptions and a reunion of existing divisions may be looked for.

We had best begin by considering the delimitations of the Church; that is, by defining who actually belong to it. And it would be wise to start from the most rigid and exclusive of definitions, namely that held by the Roman Communion. This is authoritatively laid down in a frequently quoted definition of Cardinal Bellarmine: "A body of men united together by the profession of the same Christian Faith, and by participation in the same sacraments, under the governance of lawful pastors, more especially of the Roman Pontiff, the sole Vicar of Christ on earth." If this definition is taken in its strictest sense, it means that the Church of Christ consists solely of those in communion with the See of Rome, and that all persons outside it are not members of the Church at all, so that their communions or denominations have no right to be called Churches. There is admittedly only one Church, for the term does not admit, in its strict sense, of any real plurality; and the Roman Catholic Church identifies its own communion, rigidly united both in faith

and organization, as the one true Church. But it is interesting to note that this identification has probably never been a matter of such dogmatic definition as would come under the heading of what Roman Catholics consider an infallible decree, that it is capable of more than one explanation, and that even in the definition quoted above the qualification "more especially" is brought in somewhat curiously and introduces an element of ambiguity. We merely note these facts for the present, to return to them after we have considered other definitions which dispute the identification of those in communion with Rome as alone constituting the Church of Christ.

There are Christian Churches which lay claim to the term "Catholic" in its traditional sense but do not acknowledge the Papal supremacy, and are therefore out of communion with the Roman See. Chief among these is the Greek Orthodox Church, which claims to be the true Church of Christ as definitely and as exclusively as does the Roman Catholic communion, finding the final source of authority in Councils. These are, of course, primarily the great Councils of the earlier Christian centuries, but Greek theologians by no means limit the number of conciliar assemblages to these; they include many more recent Councils and hold that new Councils may be called again at any time. Thus the Greek Church, like the Latin, is able to appeal to a living source of authority. But her doctrine of strict exclusiveness is tempered by what is called the "theory of economy," by which she may without imposing any new conditions recognize any Christian body as part of the One Church.

In the Anglican Communion the large number of theologians who hold that the Anglican Church is Catholic generally teach a very different theory. They agree that the Church consists of those bodies which have preserved the Catholic faith and the Apostolic succession; and for their definition of the Catholic faith they would go back to the decrees of those Councils held while the Eastern and Western Churches were still undivided, or on other matters take as a standard those doctrines and practices on which East and West are still agreed. This theory is sometimes called the "branch" theory of the Church; but, save for convenience, the word is no longer pressed, for it is recognized to be an illegitimate application of Christ's illustration of the branches of the vine, which obviously refer to individuals and not to collective bodies.

Beyond this definition a still wider one is demanded by the Churches which broke away from some of the early Councils, such as the ancient Nestorian, Armenian and Coptic communions, but more especially by those Churches which broke away from the Western Church at the Reformation and formed themselves on a basis of faith and order distinct from, and sometimes in opposition to, the Roman Church, believing that they had revived the original constitution of the Church described in the new Testament. At one time or another, some of these bodies were prepared to declare that they alone constituted the true Church, because they alone reproduced the New Testament system of government; as, for instance, once in the case of the Presbyterians, or still in the case of the Plymouth Brethren. But most of them would now simply claim to be denominations within the One Church, while only a few of them would now deny that the Roman Church or any other Churches claiming to be Catholic are within the Church, though they would regard them as corrupt members of it. This is the widest definition so far reached, and it would include the members of all bodies which style themselves Churches of Christ.

Here, however, difficulties of delimitation begin to emerge, for it would be disputed by many whether, for example, Unitarians could be included in the Church, because of their doctrinal position in regard to Christ, or such bodies, for instance, as the Salvation Army or the Society of Friends, because of their absence of sacraments; and still more whether the large and influential body known as the Church of Christ Scientist, could be included. This definition by bodies therefore leads to little agreement, and is obviously involved in difficulties when it has to be considered where the line is to be drawn. There is, moreover, less disposition at present to identify the different denominations with those members of the Body of Christ which have differing functions according to their position in the body; for every one would now admit that this variation is in the New Testament descriptive of individuals and not of corporate denominations.

It would seem to be a welcome escape from these difficulties to accept the idea that the Church of Christ is an invisible body and consists of those persons inside all the denominations, and in many cases also no doubt outside, and having no Church attachment whatever, and perhaps not even baptized, who nevertheless are united to

Christ by a living faith and spiritual communion. But, of course, who these are no one can decide, perhaps not even the persons themselves; they must be known to God alone. Now, while, as we shall see, this is a definition of the Church which practically all Christians are bound to admit is, within its limits, true, it raises the difficulty that it seems to dispense with a visible and organized Church, such as we certainly find in the New Testament. Or, at least, the relation of the organized denominations to this invisible body is difficult to understand or define. Some Protestant thinkers would maintain that the actual denominations are simply external expedients, due to the necessities of human society and the need for earthly organization while the actual Church of Jesus Christ itself continues invisible; they are the mere earthly vessels which contain the heavenly treasure. But such a view is bound to be in the end destructive of such organizations, and is only likely still further to lower their spiritual ideals; for, on this theory, they must find it difficult to take themselves seriously as Churches.

If, in face of these disappointing definitions, we now turn back to our first examined definition, that held by the Roman Catholic Church, we may find that it is capable of a wider interpretation. Not only is there that phrase "more especially" in Cardinal Bellarmine's definition, which does seem to leave room for others who exist less closely attached to a coherent and consistent core, but Roman doctrine also allows that there is a mystical Church of Christ to which only those who shall finally be saved belong. This is by no means taken to include all members of the Roman Catholic Church; for although the idea is common among Protestants outside the Roman Communion—and it is to be feared could be found to be held by a good many Catholics inside—that to belong to the Roman Catholic Church guarantees one's salvation, no such doctrine is authoritatively taught or is safely deducible. Indeed, just because one is so near to what is believed to be the very heart of spiritual life, and just because one has had the benefits of the sacraments, one's responsibility is increased, while if one is unfaithful, one's condemnation is all the more certain. So that, as a matter of fact, there is really more hope in the Final Judgment of a good person outside the Church than for a bad person inside, of a good pagan than of a bad Catholic. Moreover, it is definitely held that there are many outside the Roman Catholic Church who belong to the

“soul” of the Church, because they are actually in vital contact with Christ, though in ignorance of the true Church’s claims; and although they may have no access to the sacraments, and perhaps even no belief in them, for them there are nevertheless available the Baptism of desire, spiritual Communion, and that Absolution which follows from perfect contrition. Further, it is Roman doctrine, that the visible Church only exists for the sake of that invisible Church of which the visible Church is, as it were, the sacrament. It is also held, however, that when those who may belong to the soul of the Church become aware of the claims of the visible Church they are bound to unite themselves to it; and this, in theory, all would admit who understand the nature of the Church, for we must live in the hope that one day all who belong to the soul of the Church shall be gathered into the Body; though we can hardly hope that until the Final Judgment will all those who belong merely to the Body and not to the soul of the Church—that is, the unfaithful Catholics—have their false positions revealed.

It is therefore possible to hold that although the Church ought not to be in any kind of disunion, and even if to the Roman Catholic Church there be allowed, because of its historic descent, its presentation of an extraordinary unity, its wide-world dispersion and its conception of a universal mission which it can delegate to no other bodies whatsoever, a pre-eminent claim to be the Catholic Church, yet there must be some sense in which other bodies have the right to be called Churches; for wherever two or three are gathered together in Christ’s name, there is Christ, and “wherever Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.” The presence of the Catholic Church may in that case be invisible, yet wherever such persons meet they constitute the Church, and the very bodies to which they belong must partake in some degree of a Churchly character. And, of course, many Roman authorities, while standing fast by their claim that the Roman Catholic Church is the one true Church, would interpret this to mean the one Church which has kept the true faith; and while maintaining that Apostolic succession, perfect orthodoxy and unbroken unity were essential to the perfect Church, would still be willing to concede that there were valid sacraments outside their communion, and that Christ’s presence was granted and His grace given to other gathered communities. Not only does this give us some vision of a comprehensive conception of the Church,

but if this doctrine were more generally known, it would surely bring nearer the true reformation of the Catholic Church and the reunion of Christendom. What Rome claims for herself will be true for the reunited Church and may therefore be regarded as a claim held in trust for the future.

Although it is not our concern to point out how the Church may perhaps one day become united, the difficulties which stand in the way have to be considered by us, because they correctly embody the differing interpretations of the organic nature of the Church. The Catholic Churches claim that the Church depends upon the maintenance of the Apostolic succession through its episcopal order, the Roman Catholic Church adding that even this is not sufficient unless the episcopal order is united, which, it holds, can only be secured by the recognition of the priority and supremacy of the succession from St. Peter, preserved by the Papacy. Other Churches deny the necessity of the Episcopal Order, which they believe to have been a later development; notably, the Presbyterian Churches claim a succession through presbyters, or at least that presbyters also possess episcopal, that is, ordaining powers; and in this the Methodist Churches in principle agree, believing ordinary ministers have the right to ordain to the ministry though regarding ordination as the function of an office rather than of an order. The Congregational and similar bodies do not believe that the succession is carried on through the ministry, but rather through the membership of the whole Church: they lay great stress upon the "priesthood of all believers," and their conception of the ministry is that certain persons who are especially qualified by Christian character and gifts are ordained by the congregation acting by the Holy Spirit to exercise that priesthood. Other bodies, notably the Quakers, while recognizing the ministry of those persons whose exhortations have come to be acceptable to the meeting, are careful to repudiate any distinction from the rest of the Church by demanding that such ministers shall earn their living by other means than their ministry.

It is not, however, in the method of appointment to the ministry that the gravest difficulty arises, but in the sacerdotal functions² of the ministry as conceived by the Catholic Churches, and against which other Churches continue in protest. For this not only marks a distinction between Catholic and Protestant conceptions of the ministry, but it colours the whole conception of the Church; in

addition it makes a common point for the repudiation of the Church by the world, because of the general fear of the power that a sacerdotal priesthood is believed to exercise. The formal connotation of the word "priest-craft" is in itself no more objectionable than "mother-craft," though it has come to have a sinister sound, and the significance of the opposition of continental secularists being known as "anticlericalism" sufficiently indicates the situation created by sacerdotalism. It cannot be denied that the powers of the priesthood have frequently been abused in the attempt to exert political power, or by exercising a coercive sway over the consciences of men; while there is a lamentable tendency among some Catholics to regard the Church as almost identical with the clerical order, the laity being regarded as almost without any other responsibility than that of obedience and financial support.

On the other hand, it may be pointed out that all great and good things are liable to abuse, and there is no real relief to be found in the lowering of the priestly ideal of the ministry, or in regarding it as a purely prophetic office. The prophet can be just as dangerous as the priest, and many who have claimed prophetic power, or have exercised great influence through their gift of persuasive oratory and leadership, have gained an ascendancy over the minds of the susceptible, and have chained multitudes in error, in a way that would be almost impossible for a priest, whose functions are more clearly defined and who is himself under authority. Moreover, it may be pointed out to the person who is outside all the Churches, and who may dislike all parsons and fear the general influence which any religious caste may exert, that we should not get rid of the abuse of authority, or the wrong use of personal power, by abolishing priesthoods, clerical corporations or all forms of religious professionalism. Enormous power is exercised by parents, by pedagogues, by politicians, by scientific experts, and by medical men, and is as constantly open to abuse. Indeed, it may fairly be said that when men obtain emancipation from the priest they often find they only have to give more power to the police. The cure, reform and prevention of such abuses is to be sought rather in the restrictions which a purer and more widespread religion and a more spiritual conception of priesthood will bring.

There has always been some kind of a Church, and there always will be: even the founder of Positivism realized that. There have

always been priests under one name or another, and there always will be: for religion must have its representative and responsible leaders. The thing to do is to secure that they shall minister to genuine religion and exercise a truly Christian authority. Perhaps we can even discern the possibility of a reconciling and comprehensive conception on the basis of the priesthood of all believers, which can in no way be denied, for it is a New Testament doctrine. But the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, the trusted bulwark against sacerdotalism, has often in effect come to mean, not that all Christians are priests, but that there is no priesthood whatever in Christianity. It may perhaps be pointed out that there is an initial confusion inherent in the very connotation of the word "priest." It is really only the shortened form of the word "presbyter," an early name for a Church official. The priesthood claimed for all Christians in the New Testament is that of a hieratic, or, as the Latin cognate has it, a sacerdotal order. But this is claimed for the body as a whole rather than as individuals. The Church is a priestly body: it is the priesthood of humanity, that portion of humanity which is consciously related to God, but exercising that relationship not for itself only, but on behalf of all mankind. The presbyter is the representative and official priest, and without his order to exercise such priestly duties as must necessarily be delegated to a particular person, and to set forth in an exemplary fashion the priestly character of the whole body, it has been found in practice very difficult to maintain the true hieratic and sacerdotal character of the Church. Thus a hierarchy seems necessitated in the Church, if the Church is to be rightly ruled: only, of course, such hierarchical government should be not after the pattern of worldly authority, but by the sanctification of the lowliest service.

It is, therefore, surely possible to believe, first, in a representative priesthood, chosen by the Church, which gathers to itself functions which are best discharged by a person of recognized gifts, trained and set apart for such purposes, for instance, as the leading of worship, the celebration of the sacraments and the official declaration of the forgiveness of sins. From this natural demand for representation it seems possible to rise to the idea of the succession of the Church from the original Apostolic foundation, being specially marked through such representatives. For it is quite obvious that in order to belong to a visible society, it is necessary that we must be admitted

by the society itself, and in the case of a widespread society, by its representative officers. This demand takes us back inevitably, step by step, to that original society which consisted of the Apostles on whom the Holy Spirit came at Pentecost, and who in turn admitted others to their fellowship. And only that society, through multiplying and spreading all down the ages, yet organically linked up to the original society, can really admit others to itself. There must therefore be *some* form of Apostolic succession; no doubt this may be conceived as inherent in the body as a whole, but it is only natural that there should be a visible and traceable link, which will naturally be sought in its most responsible officers, especially in those who continue the special apostolic functions; and since that body had an appointed and accepted leader, there may well be a recognized head of the whole Church in the person holding and continuing that office. Thus, it seems conceivable that a constitutionalized episcopate, which would entail a constitutionalized Papacy, is no impossible conception, is necessary to the Church, and when abuses are rectified, false assumptions repudiated, and the supreme earthly head of the Church becomes the lowliest "servant of the servants of God," will be found the centre and rock of a reconstructed and freely united Church.

Another great difference and difficulty emerges in the place given to sacraments. In the Roman Catholic Church these occupy a foremost place, and are the necessary means of admitting persons to the membership of the Church, and of confirming, replenishing and restoring their position; whereas, in a descending degree through the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches, until we reach bodies such as the Quakers and the Salvation Army, sacraments have less and less importance attached to them, and finally vanish altogether. But it should be remembered that, even in the strict Roman Catholic doctrine, sacraments are only generally necessary, that is, necessary to the Church as a whole, and individuals can or may exist without any of them, and yet be in true union with the head of the Church. It is only the making of the sacraments the exclusive means of grace, on the one side, and their repudiation as a means of grace at all, on the other, which creates a fictitious opposition; for neither position is really tenable, or perhaps authoritatively held. For the true Catholic doctrine does not make sacraments the exclusive means of grace. It is acknowledged that there

is not only a baptism of water and by the blood of martyrdom, but a baptism of desire; there is also such a thing as spiritual communion, so little falling short of communion by means of the consecrated species, that it should be contentedly accepted, rather than break the rules to be observed to secure a consecration recognizably valid for the whole Church; finally, there is the absolution available to perfect contrition. Of course, Roman Catholics would make these allowances only for special cases and temporary conditions, and not exalt them into supremacy, or make them the universal rule. In the other direction there is a movement already discernible which recognizes a means of grace in sacraments: for many Quakers would no longer regard them as corruptions, but only not as necessities for every one; while their own rite of silence has about it something almost of the nature of a sacrament. And it is instructive to note that in a body like the Salvation Army, where all ministerial orders and all sacraments are entirely dispensed with, we return through the adoption of military rank and discipline to a system more autocratic than the Papacy itself, and to the use of such things as flags and uniforms, which in a way readmits the very principle that underlies sacraments and vestments.

What is recognized as "the Sacramental Principle" is now admitted in many quarters to be not only a valid principle in the ordering of common worship, and the conveying of spiritual power, but as providing the basis for the profoundest and perhaps most reconciling of all philosophical theories, namely, the principle that spiritual realities are conveyable through material media. It is true many would be more prepared to admit the general validity of the Sacramental Principle than the special efficiency of particular sacraments. But perhaps it will suffice to point out that the general principle would never have been grasped apart from the meaning given to *the* Sacrament: and also that special sacraments are for special purposes and are set apart and consecrated to that end. If the Sacramental Principle is valid, and if prayer has any power, then the validity and efficiency of special sacraments seem to follow necessarily.

For the reaching of a real reconciliation, there seems only to be needed a more widespread understanding of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the sacraments, which by strict definition involves neither magic nor a material miracle; for although the sacraments are held

to set forth an objective sacrifice and convey real grace, it is not held, on the one hand, that the sacrifice is an addition to, or a repetition of, the supreme Sacrifice of Calvary, but is that self-same sacrifice mystically represented; and on the other, that the grace bestowed depends for its efficiency on the recipient's sincere intention not to hinder but to co-operate with it.

A still further difference in the conception of the nature of the Church comes out in the relative position given to the Bible: for this must determine the character of the Church as a teaching authority. This difference, therefore, constitutes another of the dividing points between Roman Catholic and Protestant. If this division is examined, first of all, in its extreme form, we shall not be tempted to gloss over the difference, and we can therefore quote on the one hand the maxim: "the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of the Protestants"; and, on the other, the popular opinion that the Roman Catholic Church is opposed to the "open Bible," forbids it to be read, and places ecclesiastical tradition on an equal footing with Scripture.

The acute character of this extreme opposition is traceable to a conflict which lies far back in the confused and complicated period of the Reformation, when the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church condemned the Bible to be burned, a proceeding that has left almost as deep a mark upon the popular memory as the burning of martyrs or the iniquities of the Inquisition. And the popular impression is, that the Roman Catholic Church forbids the reading of the Bible by the laity because it perfectly well knows that a knowledge of Scripture would dispose of many of its claims. But there needs considerable adjustment in this prevailing impression. Whatever reluctance there may have been on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities at the time of the Reformation to place the Bible in the hands of the common people—and this reluctance seems in some regards to have been exaggerated by Protestant controversialists—it was soon overcome within the Roman Catholic Church itself; versions in the vernacular were provided officially and their free reading was commended and even urged. And to-day Roman Catholics have as full an access to the Bible (in their own version) as have Protestants.

What the Roman Catholic Church really objects to is the doctrine that the Scriptures can be placed in the hands of anyone, and that,

without any other guide or explanation, they are sufficient to bring a man knowledge of salvation and to guide him into all truth. We have sufficient evidence before us to-day that the Scriptures taken alone have given rise, not only to wide differences of opinion, which have deluged Protestantism with a multiplicity of sects, but it is often those very sects which have founded themselves so emphatically upon the Scriptures which have deduced from them the most crude beliefs and fantastic expectations. The rise of modern scholarship has convinced Protestantism that the Bible is in great need of interpretation, and although the modern scientific and historical attitude towards the Scriptures has also let loose a radical criticism which has sometimes proved not only disturbing but destructive, the general tendency has been towards a recovery, first, of the main tendency and most important teaching of the Old Testament, and secondly, has led, on the whole, to the establishment of the early data and authenticity of most of the New Testament documents.

The modern Protestant attitude to the Bible includes a reference to the individual conscience as illuminated by the same Spirit who inspired the Bible, the recognition and agreement of all these elements, written Word, Christianized conscience and the Holy Spirit. This, of course, introduces a subjective element; but it must not be and will not be either rationalistic or revolutionary if only reverence for the Word that spake in the past and dependence upon the Spirit still leading into all truth be equally borne in mind. Much of the freest of Protestant criticism now holds that there is a high place given both to Church and Sacraments in the New Testament ! Many liberal scholars would now admit that the Roman Catholic conception of both Church and Sacraments is to be found in the pages of the New Testament, and if radical writers are still unwilling to trace these conceptions to the teaching of Jesus and His intention in celebrating the Last Supper with His disciples, they do trace them to St. Paul himself, who had hitherto been considered rather the representative of the non-ecclesiastical and non-sacramental interpretation of Christianity. Moreover, the extreme Protestant position that the Bible can stand alone without any Church tradition whatsoever involves itself in the difficulty that the canon of the New Testament was fixed finally by ecclesiastical authority, and that what determined its fixing was the existence of a general tradition as to authorship and the reception given to the various documents by the great

governing centres and Apostolic Sees of the Church. In addition, while Roman Catholics may appeal in support of certain doctrines or practices to the teaching of the early Fathers or to primitive tradition, they equally appeal to the sanctions which can be found in the Scriptures. And within such limits a general acceptance must be allowed to the Church as not only the custodian, but as the interpreter of Scripture: an appeal to the Bible alone, as we have seen, begs the question; and the methods of the most radical criticism have an equally illogical basis; for, after all, they have to appeal to the authority of one Scripture to confute another.

It is true that on many matters which modern criticism has raised the Roman Catholic Church takes an unnecessarily conservative position, to which it is pledged by a doctrine that seems to involve something approximating to the doctrine of verbal inspiration; but the Roman Catholic Church is equally committed to the acceptance of all proved scientific, historical and literary facts. We may therefore look forward to a time when extreme radical criticism will be discredited by the arbitrariness of its method and the contradictory character of its results, and the ultra conservatism of the Roman Catholic attitude towards the Scriptures will have been modified by further consideration. In addition, the necessity for a living, inspired voice both to interpret God's word in the past, and to proclaim the progressive realization of truth, becomes more and more evident. The Roman Catholic insistence, on the one hand, that nothing can be taught contrary to Scripture, interpreted as a progressive revelation, is an obviously necessary recognition of the continuity of truth. When disputes emerge that threaten to break the peace of Christendom, or when doctrines are promulgated that would undermine the fundamental facts of revelation and make the Church's worship and the individual experience of many thousands of saints a delusion, the right to decide where the truth lies is inherent in the corporate character of the Church, and is absolutely necessary if the Church is to continue to be the guide and instructor of mankind, and the power to do this has been definitely promised under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. It is therefore seen that the Church and Scripture are complementary authorities, and that it is through the fruitful and harmonious interaction of the two that the Spirit will guide us into all truth.

These considerations surely go to show that the oppositions into

which differing bodies of the Church have been driven are due to the misunderstanding and the pressing of things on the Roman Catholic side which have no real Catholic basis at all, and are only due to human abuses and popular exaggerations; whereas, on the other side, the necessity of the Roman Catholic conception has been obscured or not thoroughly explained, and is thus naturally fled from in fear, and repudiated in ignorance. Deep down then beneath all bodies who claim to be the Church of Christ there still remains a discernible unity, and a promise, when abuses on the one side and misunderstandings on the other have been cleared away, that unity will gradually take a more visible form; while we have every reason to hope that the visible Church will be seen to be more and more the sacrament of the invisible, and by a gradual process of purification become eventually identical with it; as closely knit together as, in the doctrine of the Sacrament, it is held that the invisible substance of the Body of Christ is bound up with the visible species. This enables us to hold that the exclusive claims of the Roman Catholic Church, which at present the other Churches cannot allow, are being maintained by a divine Providence in trust for the future; so that, when the Churches are united, as one day they must be if Christ's prayer is ever to be answered, these statements now made of one body will be found to be true of the whole; while we may hope that a more spiritual interpretation of Roman Catholic doctrines which they both actually demand will enable them to be accepted by Evangelicals and sincere Christ-loving Protestants. We can even believe that the temporary disruption into which the Church has been allowed to fall was permitted by God in order that a richer and purer unity might come out of it; and we can already begin, however dimly, to discern that there is a reconciling conception which shall be able to take up everything without really denying anything that the Churches shall finally wish to affirm.

There are those who hold that the whole Church idea is a corruption of Christianity and that Christ never founded the Church at all, and we must turn aside to pay some attention to this final objection. Taking the words in their strict and literal sense, it may be admitted that Christ never founded the Church; He only promised to build it. The great promise to St Peter, "on this rock will I build my Church," looks to the future. An idea is, however, abroad that "the idea creates the organization, and then the organization

destroys the idea "; but it would be a poor outlook for humanity if this were a universal and necessary principle, and not merely a pessimistic deduction from unfortunately frequent facts. Why should an organized body be bound to corrupt its own idea; for how else can an original idea be propagated or maintained? And although we know organizations often fall beneath their ideals, yet unless we can believe that they can at least be brought up to them, there seems to be no hope for the salvation of human society. Surely here the Church, with its guarantee that this is precisely what shall not finally happen, and, of which, despite all failure, there is sufficient indication from the past and promise from the present that this guarantee holds good, remains the rock upon which all the hopes of humanity are built. Therefore we would commend to people who think that the Church is the necessary enemy of Christianity, a consideration of the ultimate concern of Christianity, which is to make one body as there is one Spirit. Christianity without a Church would declare itself to have failed in its primary task. Therefore the poorest and most corrupt Church contains more hope than the modern preference for a Churchless Christianity; and to hope and work for the reunion of Christendom is to seek the supreme good of mankind: for if this may not be hoped for, then what may? If it is impossible to unite the followers of Christ, whom for the moment we may define as those members of our common humanity who are most conscious of their relationship to God and of what makes that relationship possible, then it would seem to be somewhat groundless to hope that we are going to unite the classes into a co-operative brotherhood, whom a secular economic is driving into the acceptance of a necessary class war. If we may not hope for a truly Catholic Church, it is hardly likely that we shall ever bring the nations into a brotherhood of humanity which shall at length secure international peace, when resurgent nationalism and conflicting ambitions, if not necessarily conflicting interests, are always at work driving them to seek the way of war.

Widely interpreted, as the idea of the Church must inevitably be, for a true ecclesiology demands it, the continued existence of a visible Church, its progressive purity and essential unity are the greatest concerns of humanity. No one who really loves his fellows or professes humanitarian ideals, can, after sufficient consideration of what is involved, regard the Church as superfluous or irrelevant to

the progress and destiny of humanity. Anything which diminishes the ideal of the Church may be regarded as an enemy of human hope. Those who are non-religious, and yet would claim to be humanitarians and idealists, would dispute this; and some who are indisputably religious, but who are strong individualists and are opposed to any organization in connexion with spiritual realities, might maintain that they were Christians, while remaining hostile to the Church. But the one section might at least be willing to consider whether humanitarian hopes really have any basis in reason alone, since reason itself can be shown to imply some form of faith, or whether humanitarian hopes are likely to be realized unless we can redeem not only individuals, but human institutions and organizations; and the other section might perhaps be commended to a more careful study of the New Testament, a closer realization of the necessities of human nature, and a greater faith in God's power to redeem society.

II

If there has been vagueness in men's minds concerning the nature of the Church, and if there has been disagreement amongst those claiming to belong to the Church as to who actually have that right, it is not surprising that there should have been equal misunderstanding concerning the function of the Church. And this is to be found not only outside the Church, and by those who criticize it, and who therefore remain outside; but inside the Church, and by those who would guide its actions with a resultant confusion of purpose and distraction of aim.

One of the oldest and clearest conceptions of the functions of the Church is that it is the ark of salvation, the only place of safety in a world that is being overwhelmed in ruin. This conception is emphasized in the ancient maxim, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* ("outside the Church no salvation"). With this conception in view, the function of the Church is plainly to snatch men from the destruction that otherwise awaits them, and at all costs to bring them within the shelter of the Church's arms. The Church exists to save men, and those within the Church are the saved. But this conception depends too much on a mere illustration to be taken as theologically sufficient and, as we have seen previously, it needs to be corrected by a wider interpretation; for not all within the Church are necessarily saved,

and certainly not all outside it are to be conceived as necessarily lost. It therefore seems necessary to balance this with another conception in which the Church is regarded as the Church of the Elect. This does not simply mean the same thing over again, for election is no longer to be conceived as conveying an exclusive and guaranteed salvation, but rather, as the New Testament most often seems to indicate, as election for special service. In that case the Church will be regarded as a Company of the servants of God, called and chosen by Him specially to carry out His work; the priests of humanity, setting forth the worship of God; the real kings of mankind, and soldiers of Christ, who are defending humanity against its greatest foes of sin, unbelief and despair.

With the former conception of the Church as the Ark of Salvation, there is bound to be an endeavour to gather in as many as possible in order that they may be saved: with the latter conception predominant, there will be a disposition to weed men out by stricter tests, in order to constitute the Church a fighting force. The former seems to have been the predominantly Roman Catholic ideal, while the latter seems to be the conception towards which Protestantism is feeling its way. But it is quite obvious that neither conception is by itself sufficient, and both have to be taken into account: men are saved to serve, and only when they serve are they really saved. The Church must open its doors to all who demand entrance, and on the simplest terms of faith. This will bring in to her a great many weak and unsatisfactory characters who, because the process of their purification is slow, and—to all human eyes—may sometimes seem never so much as even to have been begun, will often involve the Church in shame and contempt, and seem to contradict its claim to holiness. It is the morally mottled appearance that the Church presents which provides the world with what it regards as a sufficient disproof of the Church's claim, and offers a constant excuse to those who declare that otherwise they might seek an entrance. It is constantly maintained in these days that there are as good people outside the Church as there are inside, and that modern ethical and educational methods can produce, without religion and without the Church system, as fine and as useful characters. But it must be remembered that the Church does not profess to consist solely of holy or perfect people, but rather of people who know that they are unholy, but who are seeking perfection. The entrance to the Church is therefore

through penitence, and while its aim for every soul is perfection, between those two points every grade and variety will necessarily be found.

The only thing that the Church challenges in the world's counter-claims is not the assertion that people may be found in the Church as bad as those in the world outside, for that would be admitted, the only distinction being that they know how bad they are; but that the world can produce just as good persons as the Church claims to produce in the saints; a type which she declares cannot be paralleled, at least with frequency and continuity, without. The Church further asserts that the poorest sinner, who nevertheless is penitent, is in a superior position to the person of the highest ethical attainment who has no consciousness of how much he owes to God or of how much he falls short of His glory: such a person has come to the end of his attainment, his very ethical superiority may be merely a discouragement to his weaker fellows, and he has no secret of ethical renewal which he can pass on to others; whereas the penitent, because of his consciousness both of his own failure and of the grace of God to which he looks, has before him an infinite path of progress and an assurance of love and forgiveness for himself and for all men that opens out inexhaustible ethical potentialities. The Church need not feel it any reproach if the harlots and publicans crowd into her before the Pharisees, who in these days are more likely to be found outside, content with a closed moral system. On the other hand, the Church, while keeping her doors wide open, must see that a path runs straight and inviting from every point on her circumference to the centre and height of sanctification, and she must not forget that her task is to manufacture out of the poorest material both saints and soldiers; and, on the whole, it can be claimed that the Church does perform this task, and that nowhere else can it be done with the same degree of success.

But it is precisely because the Church does claim to be not so much like an ordinary hospital for the repair of broken humanity, but a military hospital where the object is not only to restore men to health, but to send them back into the fighting line, that the Church comes under a second criticism; namely, that it does not do the work for humanity it ought, that the Church is not leading the great crusade for social reform, and is not alive to the needs of ordinary men and the necessities of common life. Workers in the various

humanitarian and philanthropic movements are often to be found amongst those who not only have no Church connexion, but who confessedly are not even religious people; while many great political and social reforms have not only, at least in recent generations, had to get on without the help and blessing of the Church, but have been opposed and cursed by it.

Now, first of all, it can with fairness be replied that in the past it was the Church which took the lead and set the example in the matter of philanthropic and humanitarian reforms, and that many who now wholly give their lives to these concerns will still be found to owe some inspiration, if not directly, then indirectly, to Christianity and the Church. Many of our modern social reformers were cradled in the Christian faith and nurtured in the Christian Church, and have only lost their faith or separated themselves from the Church on the conviction that social, political and economic reform is the dominant, if not the sole, need of humanity. But if the Church believes that its primary function is to relate men consciously to God, both for their personal salvation and in order to make effective their service to mankind, there can really be no complaint or criticism when the Church stands by this. If religion has any meaning at all, it is primary. The idea, to which just now there seems to be a widespread inclination, that love of one's neighbour is not only primary but can even be made a substitute for love of God, and that social service is the only worship in which man need engage, requires considerable investigation before its soundness can be accepted. We shall probably not have to advance much farther in the history of mankind before we shall discover that social reform cannot come until men are converted, at least, and at first, even to a belief that social reform is a duty; and for that we shall need divine power if we are not to turn to mere coercion. But that is not an alternative, it is an abandonment of hope, for coercion will certainly defeat its own end and only erect a new tyranny on the razed foundations of the old. Again, it will be found utterly impossible to make the betterment of earthly conditions the satisfaction of all human aspirations; for if there is no eternal destiny for men, we must sooner or later settle down to the conclusion that nothing will ever make man happy, for he is a creature whose aspirations cannot be fulfilled, and the very raising of the social status and the betterment of conditions will only suffice to bring home to him the more the utter tragedy of his infinite ideals and his

limitation to a finite life, and so plunge him in pessimism, melancholy and despair.

But even where it is acknowledged that religion is one of the great duties of man, and the Church a valuable institution for inculcating those duties, there is an inclination to judge Christianity and Church teaching by their immediate effect upon the purely ethical side of character, and the purely social side of life. Does religion make a man a stronger character and a better citizen? Does the Church inspire social service and produce a better social order? These may well be fruits to be looked for and that ought to appear, but they may not appear immediately or perfectly, and religion does not admit that they are the primary things. Ethics must spring from a religious basis, and man's spiritual vision must always outrun his ethical expression. Man's capacity cannot be satisfied with the finite in any direction; the highest ethical attainment will be the more conscious of how much more is demanded; social relationships do not exhaust the demands of the soul, man has in this world no continuing city. It is the revelation of the Infinite that alone meets human need. If a man's relation to God does not develop character, or induce love of his neighbour, it must be that his relation to God is imperfect and his conception of God inadequate. If the influence of the immortal hope does not regulate human conduct and inspire justice, mercy and sacrificial service, it is because the nature of immortality is misunderstood, and the conditions governing the participation in eternal life have been overlooked. For it is indisputable Christian teaching that if a man says he loves God and hates his brother, he is a liar: that is, he does not love God.

There can be no doubt also that the Christian religion maintains that our conduct in this life will seriously determine our condition in the life to come. It is therefore in holding before men the necessity of being consciously related to God, and the eternal destiny for which this earth is a preparation, that the Church is doing the greatest social service for humanity; and it constantly insists upon these things as primary, because without them social service can never be truly rendered, or would only end in disappointment. It is certainly possible to blame the Church for having been somewhat indifferent to the conditions of human life during the past three or four centuries, and, in a lesser degree, to have been actually opposed to certain political and social reforms. But it must be remembered

that the conditions of human life have been changing swiftly and remarkably during these centuries and have taken a new direction which has involved us in problems to which no one alive can actually see the immediate solution. Moreover, the reforms often advocated have not only been debatable in principle and application, but they have frequently been proposed as a sufficient substitute for religion, and the denial of religion has sometimes been made almost a condition for sincere belief or co-operation in radical reform. This has imposed upon the Church a still more immediate and primary duty, namely that of defending that fundamental faith from which all social reform derives its inspiration, and without which it can never be brought about. Once let man lose his faith in God and he will soon lose faith in man. The belief in conversion will be replaced by the trust in coercion. Although for a time this life may seem to gain from concentration upon it to the exclusion of all concern in a life to come, the narrowing of humanity's horizon will soon narrow its interpretation of this life to a mere economic struggle which can have no solution, because in the vain effort to drug an unsatisfiable soul, every one will then seek more material things than this life can fairly yield to anyone, not to say equally to all.

During the Industrial Revolution a too individualistic conception of evangelical religion and the intolerable economic conditions which developed tended to divorce personal religion and social reform, and drive them into suspicion, opposition and hostility. But a recovery is being made, perhaps on both sides, and the understanding is spreading that religion is pledged to reform whatever is unjust, while reform itself needs the faith and patience that religion alone can give. No one would deny that recently there has been a great awakening on the part of the Church as to the social implications of the Christian faith, but the Church will, so far from serving the present opportunity, only add to the tendencies which may betray it, if it yields to the temptation to substitute social reform for religion, or neglects to keep alive the inspiration of faith on which all depends.

A third criticism, however, does seem to lie heavily against the Church, in the neglect of her function to provide adequate leadership for mankind. It has been admitted that the modern Church has only recently been awakening in any adequate fashion to the social needs of man. But the Church as a whole is by no means yet alive to the peril which international warfare is bringing upon

humanity, and is in considerable hesitation about committing itself to the doctrine that all war is wrong. Now it is naturally argued that if the Church were in touch with divine inspiration, if it represents humanity's royal priesthood, it ought to be its advance guard in all these crusades and concerns. But here again it can be replied that the Church's main duty is to keep alive man's ultimate faith and to secure its all round application to life, and it is not fair to contrast this admittedly stupendous task and concern with the work and concern of those outside who are able to specialize on one item in human life, or on one point of human need, or are concerned with some temporary contingency. Moreover, it must be remembered that the Church is in a divided condition, and although this may be blameable enough to the Church, a great deal of that division has been due to the general refusal to acknowledge the Church's leadership. The world cannot throw off the Church's claim to leadership and at the same time blame it for not leading; it cannot dismiss the Roman Catholic claim of infallibility, and then demand an infallible judgment on matters where the Church has never claimed to possess it; it cannot reject the authority of the Church and then in some suddenly developed situation expect the Church to speak with authority and command the universal obedience of men.

As a matter of fact, while modern men, with the exception of a few omniscient persons and dogmatic sects, confront the social chaos of our times literally unable to propose anything definite and effective that should at once be done, those who have exact historic and economic knowledge will know that when the Church was united and its authority accepted economics was conceived to be a department of theology, and considerable economic influence was exercised by the Church's spiritual outlook and actual decrees. An increasing number of economic reformers, tired of the partisan theories of our times, are already looking back to the fundamental economic conceptions once accepted by Christendom, namely those of Private Property, the Just Price and No Usury. It is believed that these embody principles which, when properly interpreted and adapted to modern need, remain still fundamental necessities, and they seem to open out a way of advance which holds some promise of cutting beneath the political and economic war-cries which at present keep men in conflict with one another, instead of agreeing to fight their

common enemy. Similarly, in regard to the menace of international war, it is only recently, with the invention of more destructive armaments, the growth of conscription, and the combination of economic interest and insurgent nationalism, that war has become such a devastating scourge and now threatens the very existence of mankind. And although the Roman Catholic Church seems inclined to stand by the idea that there can be such a thing as a just war, there is much teaching in the Early Fathers, as well as in the witness of the Quakers, against the method of warfare as such, which no one calling himself a Christian can ignore.

The point of the Catholic resistance to this universal condemnation can be understood; man has a natural right to defend himself against aggression, but not only in the present development of diplomacy and the mass suggestion of the Press is it necessary to have some one to decide who is the aggressor, but Catholic theology is bound to maintain that while war may sometimes be just, it is not the way of charity and can never, therefore, accomplish any form of redemption. Moreover, it is exceedingly unlikely that any method will be found that will prevent the nations from having recourse to war until mankind recognizes and is glad to obey a higher loyalty than that which the State demands or can impose; and that loyalty cannot be to humanity as such or to any super-state, but will finally be discovered to be only likely to be rendered to a purely spiritual, yet organized, visible and international body, namely, the Church; and, therefore, only in the rehabilitation of the Catholic Church is there to be found a real hope for the repudiation and final abolition of war.

The Church has always in effect claimed supreme authority over the kingdoms of this world, for Christ is King of Kings and Lord of Lords. This claim is not to be resisted because in the past it has been misinterpreted or abused. The Roman Catholic Church no longer claims the right to interfere in the international policies of nations or to instruct the political action of individuals, save where they conflict with purely religious or moral questions. Even the claim to temporal power is stated to imply no longer that the Pope demands the right to crown kings, appoint rulers or be reckoned as one of the princes of this world; but only that the Church must be left free from national dictation and, perhaps, granted a plot of neutral territory, so that in the event of war its international functions shall not be interrupted. The necessity of that was seen in the World

War, and when the Roman Catholic Church has become once more a united body, and the political designs and national ambitions which were one of the causes of Protestantism have been definitely repudiated, the world will be more prepared to admit the necessity of an international spiritual body to which mankind owes and yields primary and supreme loyalty. But equally ought States and nations, religious sectarians and individualists, and men hitherto unconcerned with religion to recognize and to hasten to rehabilitate the Church they have neglected and sometimes helped to reduce to its present position. The true reformation of the Church, and the true repentance of the nations must go hand in hand, and if recent catastrophes and even the present chaos do not teach us all this nothing will, and mankind must be prepared to face still further disaster from which recovery would seem impossible.

The Church must, of course, recruit its members from the world without, and so long as men of thought and men of action hold themselves aloof, the Church is bound to suffer in a corresponding way. For while the Church's method of salvation may save the wastage of our humanity which otherwise must go on and increase, and thus may recover for its fighting forces those who were wounded and put out of action; and while grace can immensely increase man's natural powers and can release those which have been paralysed or perverted by sin, it does not profess to manufacture the peculiar gifts from which advanced thought and great leadership naturally spring. On the other hand, we have all too much evidence of the type of thinking which may be a master of scathing criticism and can attract and amuse us with its coruscating brilliance, but which nevertheless leads nowhere; utterly fails, despite its power of satire, to turn man from his follies, and only seems to intensify the surrounding darkness. We have many tragic examples of those who have set out to lead, but have betrayed their cause by their own weakness, ambition or despair. We have plenty of examples of energy and effort which still do nothing to bless mankind, but only prove a social menace. The world at present needs to reconsider the message and meaning of the Church, for despite a temporary obscurity through the intellectual confusion of our times, and the immense constitutional and social changes of our era, religion still anchors humanity to an infinite hope and the Church provides the only rock upon which a worthy social order can be built: that City

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of our God, which, though laid up in the heavens, is meant to descend to earth; and which needs no Temple, because it is itself at once a City and a Church, the new Jerusalem, the Bride of Christ, and the meeting place where God walks with men and is known to be their God.

CHAPTER XXV

WOMEN AND THE CHURCHES

BY AGNES MAUDE ROYDEN

In contemporary social and political life the opening of equal opportunities to men and women is being taken more and more for granted. Is the same to be true in the Churches of the future? Or does the distinction in sex carry with it necessarily a corresponding distinction in ecclesiastical function?

THE nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth have marked an extraordinary advance on the part of women in almost every department of life. The question inevitably arises—is this due to the influence of Christianity or has it been, on the whole, in spite rather than because of organized religion?

The answer is ambiguous. Some will point to the attitude of opposition and hostility taken up by nearly every branch of organized Christianity to the emancipation of women. Others will urge that the advance of women in countries even nominally Christian has been in no sense paralleled by anything that has happened in countries not under Christian influence. There the position of women has been almost if not altogether stationary. The truth probably is that while organized religion has, in this as in other matters, shown itself predominantly conservative, the principles of Christ are of their very nature dynamic and continually work their way out into the thought and practice of men in spite of official opposition. Organized Christianity has too often shown itself indifferent or even hostile to what we now regard as progress: nevertheless the influence of Christian teaching in the world has been dynamic to the point of being revolutionary.

Undoubtedly it was the Society of Friends which gave the first great impetus to belief in the spiritual equality of men and women. The heroic age of this movement within the Society, however, ended more than a century ago. But “at the close of the eighteenth century the Wesleyan Revival spread over England, and once again



DR. MARIA MONTESSORI.



FRANCES MARY BUSS.



LADY ASTOR.



CATHERINE BOOTH.



THE REV. CONSTANCE COLTMAN.



THE REV. MARY COLLINS.



THE REV. DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.



MISS MAUDE ROYDEN.

lit up the prophetic fires in the hearts of women as well as of men." Women began to take a part in the work of the Wesleyan Church as class-leaders, prayer-leaders, sick visitors, teachers, and occasionally as preachers. Their great leader, John Wesley himself, after some hesitation affirmed that "God owns women in the conversion of sinners, and who am I that I should withstand God?"

The Countess of Huntingdon, though she remained nominally a member of the Church of England, and did not preach herself, "gathered round her a group of men who became known as Lady Huntingdon's preachers. She built chapels, purchased buildings, erected Trevecca College for theological students, and appointed ministers at her own pleasure." Other women felt themselves called to the regular exercise of the prophetic office, and the portrait of Dinah Morris in *Adam Bede*, though drawn from a single individual, was representative of a more numerous class. Unfortunately the tide of enthusiasm waned here also, and in 1835 "the Conference expressed strong disapproval of female preaching . . . and female preaching almost ceased to exist for a protracted period." Among the Bible Christians, however, where the influence of the Quakers appears to have been stronger, women continued to preach and excel in other good works. "By 1819 there were thirty travelling preachers—sixteen men and fourteen women; and in 1823 one hundred women were serving as preachers, local or itinerant." The Primitive Methodists also made much use of the prophetic ministry of women. In the early period of this denomination there were several women ministers, and throughout its history the lay preachers have always included women.

The most remarkable of all these, however, was undoubtedly Mrs. Catherine Booth of the Salvation Army. Although a strong believer in the spiritual and intellectual equality of men and women, this remarkable woman thought at first of nothing more than to labour with her pen and by her private personal influence. When, however, she had once begun to preach—under a strong sense of urgency, with great reluctance, and we may well believe guided by the Holy Spirit—she writes that for twenty-five years "I was never allowed to have another quiet Sabbath when I was well enough to stand and speak." So powerful was her appeal and so wonderful the response in the conversion of many thousands who heard her, that she gave in her own person an object-lesson in that

equality which she claimed. It is difficult to believe that the Salvation Army owes more to General Booth himself than it did and does to the inspiration and influence of "the Mother of the Army."

It is now very generally recognized in the Protestant churches that there is no bar in principle to the admission of women to all offices—including that of the ordained ministry—of the Church. There are still some barriers, however, besides the great and in many cases still unscaled barrier of popular prejudice. Except in the United States, very few women preachers or ministers actually exist. And even in the United States, though there are some thousands of them, a large proportion of these belong to the smaller and more eccentric sects. Dr. Antoinette Blackwell was the first woman to be ordained a minister. In 1852 she was passed by the Congregational Church in New Jersey, though later in life she became a Unitarian. On the whole, Unitarianism and Congregationalism have been kinder to the claims of women than other denominations. The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, however, was ordained minister of the Methodist Protestant Church and exercised a very powerful influence in the United States. She became a speaker of international and world-wide reputation and was almost as well known in Europe as in her native land. Probably, however, her work on political platforms as a leader of the Woman Suffrage Movement made an even deeper impression on the public and a little obscured her religious work.

In Great Britain the position is theoretically much the same, but in practice there is a greater reluctance to admit women to the ordained ministry or to the more influential positions in any Protestant Church. In the Presbyterian Church of Scotland women may not even be elders, though in the same Church in England they are now admitted to this office. Even in Scotland women are—very occasionally—invited to preach in Presbyterian Churches. It is still very rare for any woman to be in full charge of a church even among what in England are called the "Free Churches." The Rev. Constance Coltman is co-pastor with her husband of a Congregational Church in Oxford, and the Rev. Mary Collins in sole charge of North Bow Church, London. Miss Gertrude von Petzold was pastor of a Unitarian Church in Leicester before the World War.

On the continent of Europe things appear to be moving more slowly. The grant of equal rights to women in the Protestant churches of Germany (with the exception of the right of becoming ministers) has resulted in placing many women in positions on official church bodies. In Hungary the Reformed Church University has opened its theological faculty to women, but this does not allow of their becoming anything more than teachers in schools. Yet it is of importance as giving women a chance of showing what they can do in theology. In Switzerland, for the first time in history, two women have been invited during the last few years to preach from the historic pulpit of the cathedral of Geneva. It should be observed that while both these invitations were extended to the speakers on special occasions and not as part of the ordinary routine of the cathedral work, the mere fact of women preaching from a pulpit of such world-wide fame created a deep impression.

The case is different with regard to churches emphasizing more strongly the sacramental and sacerdotal ideals of church life. Even here some progress is being made, especially in the Church of England and churches in communion with it. Bishops from all these communions met in conference at Lambeth in the summer of 1921. A special commission was appointed to consider the position and ministry of women in the Church. The report of this commission marked an extraordinary advance on anything that had been advocated before, except by the very thorough-going indeed. Although it was not formally adopted in its entirety, the resolutions of the Conference itself did embody the substance of what the commission had decided. Besides recognizing the right of women to elect and to be elected to all church councils including the supreme one—the Church Assembly itself—it made important recommendations with regard to the ancient Order of Deaconesses. This Order, which is the only one of which it is fairly certain to say that it was recognized by the early Christian Church (too little being known of the so-called Orders of Widows and Virgins to be of any value to us in the twentieth century), was in a sense revived by the Reformed Churches on the Continent, and brought into prominence by the famous Deaconess Institution at Kaiserswerth in 1833. In 1852, Archbishop Tait ordained the first deaconess of the English Church and other dioceses followed suit. Unfortunately the word “deaconess” has been taken into use without any very clear idea

as to its original meaning. In 1891, however, the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation passed certain resolutions, the first of which stated that "deaconesses according to the best authorities formed an order of ministry in the early Church," while the second laid it down that a deaconess should be admitted in solemn form by the bishop with laying on of hands. The Lambeth Conference of 1920 passed a resolution declaring that the time had come when the diaconate of women should be restored formally and canonically, and should be recognized throughout the Anglican communion. It also resolved that, with the approval of the bishop and the parish priest, the deaconess should be allowed to read Morning and Evening Prayer in church, and also in church to lead in prayer and, under licence of the bishop, to exhort and instruct the congregation. Further resolutions recommended that lay women should also be given opportunities of speech in consecrated buildings and to lead in prayer in other than the statutory services of the Church.

The immediate effect of these resolutions has been much smaller than was at first hoped. Their special importance to women lay in the recognition of the diaconate for women as an "order" even if not actually "holy orders." It is naturally on this point that discussion has been most heated, and on whichever side of the argument one stands, its significance is very great. In 1921 a committee of the two Houses of Convocation of Canterbury reported that there was "no historical justification" for the belief that ordination of a deaconess conferred on her the grace of holy orders. Convocation of York on the other hand fully approved the resolution of the Lambeth Conference in all respects, both as regards lay women and deaconesses, except that the deaconess is only to read Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany where circumstances make it desirable, and there is no mention of her "instructing and exhorting the congregation." Convocation of Canterbury does not approve of women either speaking or leading in prayer in church unless "to women and children."

Nevertheless, and in spite of delays and obstruction, it is clear that the Lambeth resolutions and report are having a wide-spread influence. Both in the United States and in England women have been invited to preach in some of the cathedrals. Quite a number of women—it is impossible to find out exactly how many—have now preached in parish churches, generally on week-days. Some,



FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.



EDITH CAVELL.

however, have preached on Sundays, evading the restriction on "statutory services" by an arrangement on the part of the vicar to close the service and give the benediction before instead of after the sermon. The whole question of women's work in the Church is taken much more seriously than it was. Boards have been set up in each diocese at which applications for the bishop's licence are considered. An examination similar to that required for lay-readers is held for diocesan women messengers, women catechists, and parochial women workers. The salaries and status of such women still compare very unfavourably with that of men, but the splendid work of Mrs. Paget (wife of the Bishop of Chester) and others is at last bearing fruit and women are not only being better paid (though the standard is still miserably low) but are given more responsible positions and greater scope for initiative. Women churchwardens, women sidesmen, women reading the lessons, women singing in the choir, women serving at the altar, no longer create anything like the excitement that would undoubtedly have been created a few years ago.

In other parts of the British Empire things are not moving so fast. There are deaconesses in Canada, but when it was proposed that a deaconess should be elected to the general Synod of the Church of Canada, opposition was offered by two canons, one of whom threatened to "leave in disgust if a woman were admitted." The opposition won.

In South Africa, the very word "communicant" was at one time defined as "a *male* person who communicates" a certain number of times in the year! This has recently been altered and women are now "communicants" and, as such, able to vote for candidates for the Church Councils. They are eligible for election to Parochial Councils, provided they do not outnumber the men, but an attempt to make them eligible for Diocesan Councils was defeated. Bishops are elected by the clergy of the diocese, but the House of Laymen has a right of veto, and as women may vote for members of this House they have a very indirect share in the choice of their Diocesan. They may also act as churchwardens.

On the other hand, in Australia things are much more forward. The Bishop of Gippsland, who was present at the Lambeth Conference of 1920, was confirmed there in the view he already strongly held that the Church in Australia should make far greater use

than hitherto of "fully trained ordained women" and "give them the largest possible scope and mission." By "fully trained ordained women" the bishop means deaconesses and, in using this phrase, although he makes it clear that he does not consider the possibility of ordaining women to the priesthood, he does regard the diaconate as in itself an order. He writes, "I am one of the very few to demand that the condition of the ministry of women shall be as wide and comprehensive in its scope and opportunity as that of the ministry of men—apart from functions of the priesthood. . . . I decided to establish the Order of Deaconesses, and to include in their scope pastoral, hortative, speaking, and nursing work. I saw a vision of these trained women of the Church doing for us what the nuns do for the Roman Catholic peoples." Pioneers in these matters are looking eagerly to Gippsland to watch the progress of the bishop's great experiment—an experiment unfortunately hampered and even actually endangered by the difficulty of raising funds. It should be added that in 1924 a special service for girls' clubs was taken entirely by women and the sermon preached by the head deaconess with the archbishop's permission. This was in St. Stephen's Church, Richmond (Melbourne).

In New Zealand there are deaconesses both professed and of the irregular or unprofessed type. Practically all the work done by women in connexion with the Church is done by them. Lay readers are always men.

It would seem that the greatest scope for the ministry of women in the Church of England lies in her great Dependency of India. The native women there can hardly be touched by men missionaries and, in spite of any opposition, it seems certain that there must be a great future of service and opportunity for the deaconess. Splendid work is already being done but, as it comes chiefly under the head of missionary work, it is discussed in another chapter. It is interesting—and important—to note that, at the fifth triennial meeting of the General Synod of the Church in China held in March, 1924, it was decided not only that women may be delegated to Synod in full equality with men but that deaconesses should rank as clergy, with licence to take such part in services in consecrated buildings as was recommended by the Lambeth Conference. Moreover, while the Synod was in session, the women of Canton gathered together with representatives of most of the other dioceses to work

out a constitution for a "Women's Missionary Service League," which is intended to promote all kinds of service to the Church by women in China and to bind them together in one organization. Approval and recognition of the League was given by both houses of Synod.

It will be seen in this brief record that everywhere an advance is marked, or at the least there has been no retrogression. The advance is undoubtedly due to the enormous amount of service, unofficial and often unrecognized and unpaid, which has been given by women to the Church during the last hundred years. As Sunday School teachers, as district visitors, as organizers and administrators in a humble capacity, in works of charity, and above all in what is known as "rescue work," they have been so useful that it is difficult to conceive how the work of the Church could have been done at all without them. Moreover, one might almost regard as a special "order" the status of the wife of priest, clergyman or minister! She is always regarded as the unpaid ministerial assistant or curate of her husband. The congregation or parish is felt to have a claim on her strength and time which sometimes even makes it difficult for her to discharge her vocation as wife and mother. Such work, increasing in volume and in efficiency, has at last impressed the imagination and even convinced the reason of churchmen. They have begun to perceive that the unrecognized ministry of women has been so well discharged as to entitle them to some recognition, and, when the claim of women to such recognition became articulate, they could already point with confidence to great services rendered in the past. The question is now only of the nature of that recognition and the scope of that work.

It is extraordinary to find how practically universal is the admission that women are spiritually the equals of men. Here and there one meets an advocate of the older view that even in spiritual matters women are not the equals of the other sex, but this claim is now rarely made and is generally actually deprecated by those who oppose the admission of women to the highest offices of the Church. But if men once recognize the spiritual equality of the sexes, the attempt to maintain the subordination of one to the other in actual practice, by the exclusion of the subordinate sex from spiritual office, seems illogical—too much at variance with the acceptance of the theory of spiritual equality.

It appears, therefore, that the work of the last hundred and twenty years has been chiefly one of establishing this great principle of spiritual equality. Its recognition has been followed swiftly by the admission of women to many offices in many branches of the Church. There still remains, however, the question of the priesthood in the churches calling themselves distinctively "Catholic."

The great dynamic behind the Christian Church is now, as it has always been, the teaching of Christ himself. Slowly but surely, and often in the face of actual hostility from the official Church, it moulds the conscience and the constitution of Christendom. Christ demanded the same moral standard from both sexes. He ignored the differences between them so far that it is impossible, without knowing the context, to say of any saying of His whether it was given to a man or a woman. He made but one appeal to all humanity—He offered but one standard—His own. In His eyes neither race nor class nor even sex was of fundamental importance in spiritual affairs. His Church has, therefore, in spite of difficulties and errors, made a claim upon the loyalty of men greater even than that of nationality. It has, in spite of conservatism, gradually, throughout the ages, uplifted the oppressed classes and set free the slave. It has with no less certainty lifted up women, and its work in this matter, as in the others, is not yet done.

Women of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—becoming articulate upon matters hitherto but half understood and elucidated not at all—have recognized in this the reason of the extraordinary appeal made by Christ to their sex. It has often been made a reproach against the Christian religion that it appeals so strongly to women and to the oppressed classes: women to-day are beginning to understand why. And the pioneers of the Woman's Movement within the Church claim that the Church itself has, through its Master, been at once their guide, their justification and their motive power.

CHAPTER XXVI

A CHRISTIAN'S CRITICISM OF THE CHURCHES

BY SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

In past centuries non-adherence to the Church was usually regarded as a token of a defective moral sense. But to-day it is evident that those who stand aloof from organized Christianity may be genuinely repelled by the rigidity of dogmas to which they cannot subscribe.

THE religious sense in the bulk of Western people is immature. The propensity to be religious is there; but it is undeveloped. Stimulation to growth has not yet been sufficiently potent. Men do not realize the value of religion and consequently do not put their hearts into it as they do into politics or business or sport. They do not hunger and thirst after refreshment for their souls as they do after sustenance for their bodies. They flock to business, they flock to games, and they flock to political meetings; but they do not flock to church. Even if all the churches in the land were full, the congregations would not represent a tenth part of the population. From the point of view of religion we are still barbarians. Spiritually we are infants—not adults.

And it is not because he is specially wicked that the ordinary man does not go to church: the general run of men and women are decently behaved, orderly and upright, straight-dealing and neighbourly. It is not that they are evil-livers, but simply because their sense of religion is undeveloped that the Church has no attraction for them. They are as unable to appreciate holiness as many are to see beauty. The sense may have been stunted when still tender by exposure to the cold blasts of life. Or it may have withered away from sheer lack of sustenance. Or it may have been innately so very feeble that nothing short of the most perfect conditions and the most tender care would ever bring it to growth at all. Or it may never have received just that stimulus which in all cases is required. But whatever the cause there is the fact that in the great majority of—certainly Western—people there is hardly any

religious sense at all. Religiously they are as backward as a jungle tribe is materially. And they are as bored by a church service as a rustic would be by an opera. They are busy with the business of life. Their energy and attention are absorbed in earning a bare livelihood. And when they are free from sheer work they seek relaxation and recreation for body and mind; and the soul remains unawakened within them.

But besides these quite good but unreligious men there are also a number of sincerely religious people who have compunction in becoming formal and active members of the organized Churches. What is the reason? They are perfectly good Christians in the sense that they regard Christ as the fullest revelation we have of that Spirit which they believe governs the world; and in accordance with Christ's teaching they love their fellows and strive and sacrifice much to better the world: they have faith in God and good-will towards men. And yet they shrink from becoming active members of the Churches; and many do not go to church at all. Why is it?

Again, immaturity is the reason. This time the immaturity of the Churches. The Christian Church seems very old; really it is very young. Man has been in existence on the earth at least five hundred thousand years; but it is only in the last few thousand that he has begun to develop religiously. And the Christian Church is not yet even two thousand years old. It is in its childhood. It has not grown to maturity. And as a result of this immaturity there is the same rigidity of encasement that there is in the bud. What is infinitely precious and will eventually develop into a beautiful flower is still encased in a tough integument. The Churches have codified Christianity so rigidly and laid down so dogmatically what a man should believe that many sincerely religious men fear to join in a service lest it should be taken as an admission that they subscribe to every doctrine therein laid down. They shrink from imperilling their freedom and from the appearances of sailing under false colours. Their very sincerity stands in the way.

They may be scientific men, for example, trained to sift evidence with extreme caution, and in forming their conclusions to weigh their words with the utmost care. They might admit (though it would be outside their province as mere scientific men) that at the foundation of things, as the ultimate spring of all, there may be some Spirit, some creative Power governing and directing the whole

world-process. They might admit further that nowhere could they find a more perfect embodiment of this essential soul of the world than Christ. But they might not be prepared to admit, in addition, such a doctrine as that Christ was born of a virgin. For anything so contrary to the order of Nature, as we know it, they would want the amplest evidence. And even if that evidence were forthcoming their opinion of Christ and His teaching would not be raised. Whether or not Christ was born of a virgin His value as a revelation of the Spirit which governs the world would not be affected. Born in the ordinary way He would still be the highest manifestation of it we have. Perhaps if they were told that this talk of Jesus being born of a virgin was merely a symbolical way of speaking and was really the effort of men to express their wonderment at any person so much out of the ordinary appearing among them, they might accept the explanation. But scientists are very matter-of-fact people and most of them would reply that the Church should say what it means. If it has not evidence to prove that Christ was born of a virgin it should not say that He was. And the stiffness of the Church in maintaining *literally* what is, for realists, only *symbolical* of something deeper, is the stumbling-block to many.

Another example of rigidity is the stiffness in the conception of God which is generally presented by the Church. This is the root conception in religion yet the least capable of exact definition. And any fixity here offends men of thought who do not expect their ideas upon such a subject to be made up for them but who do want to be helped in forming a conception for themselves—and in enlarging, deepening and enriching their conception through all their lives; for they are sure they will never reach one which will completely satisfy them. In face of the tremendous mystery of God they cannot have their conception confined or ever expect it to be complete.

It is not enough to say that He is good; for He may be, and most certainly is, a great deal more than good. It is inadequate to regard him as a Person; for He may be, and most certainly is, a great deal more than a Person. We may call Him Father: but most assuredly He is something much more than a Father. It is not sufficient to say that God is Love: He may and must be something even greater still.

We know that He has the glory of the sunset and the majesty

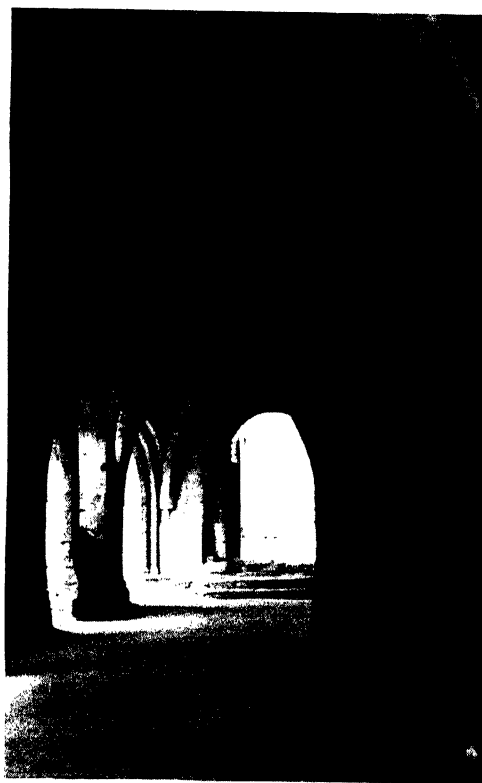
of the Himalaya and yet is as tender as a mother with her babe. We know that He has the power of the ocean and the fury of the tempest, and yet is as dainty as the harebell on the moors, as delicate as the sorrel in the woods, and as pure as the rain-washed sky. We know that He has the sternness of granite and yet is as sweet as the song of a lark. This and much more we know about Him. But the more we know the more does the mystery deepen. As our experience of the world grows we penetrate further into the nature of God, but the further we pierce the more mysterious do we find it.

Science reveals to man a thousand million stars compared to each one of which this earth is but a pebble; it tells also of distances of space and periods of time beyond his utmost power of imagination. And amid such immensities he might seem a mere whiff. He might stretch out his arms in despair at his own littleness; a ripple and he might be drowned. Yet he is undismayed. Because of the very orderliness which he everywhere discovers—in the farthest stars as in the minutest atom; because there is beauty everywhere all round him; because in himself there is love and courage and ambition; because a Christ has appeared; *therefore* he can have the firmest faith and surest conviction that at the heart of the world is working a Power which is driving at what man values most. But men want to know what this is that lies behind all outward phenomena—what is the nature of the Eternal Power which is at work all the time holding the whole together and bringing these wonders to being. The idea of a mere First Cause and a chain of causal connection does not suffice. It is sufficient for the limited purposes of science. But it is too trivial to serve as the ultimate basis of our conception of the world. We want to know still more about this inscrutable Power just as one of those myriad microscopic cells of which my body is composed might want to know what *I* am, what are my leading characteristics and what in all my activity I am striving after.

This mysterious Power which governs the world must be as much greater than our individual selves as we are greater than the individual cells which make up our body. Nevertheless we are imbued with this Power, we are partakers of its nature and it is through us that it expresses itself. We are capable therefore in some measure of understanding its nature. Among the stars this Power may manifest itself in higher forms than ours. But the highest



FOUNTAINS ABBEY, FOUNDED IN 1132. THE MONASTERY WAS THE RICHEST IN YORKSHIRE.



IN THE CLOISTERS OF THE ABBEY.



THE CHAPEL OF NINE ALTARS.

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beings we know of are men; and the highest manifestation which has yet appeared is Christ. He is therefore the fullest revelation we have of the nature of God. And through Him especially (for the highest is the most real) and through great men and women and through beauty and the wonders of physical nature and of plant and animal life—through any and every source we will strive to know more of God.

And what men expect of the Churches is that in the presence of so tremendous a mystery they should not lay down rigid formulas of what we should and what we should not believe: this only repels men; but that they should help us to clear away misconceptions from our minds and should stimulate us to form for ourselves ever greater and truer ideas. There will always be mystery—and deeper and deeper mystery. Nevertheless, we want to go on and on, and the deeper the mystery the more insistently we are drawn to it, and the less we like any confinement to our thought. All we can have is a blurred conception of that blinding light which lies behind all appearances and is piercing through them. But we may more and more clear our conception. And this is what men want the Church to help them to do; for even if the mystery deepens yet the more we know the greater do we ourselves become.

Besides the rigidity resulting in the codification of Christianity, another of the outcomes of immaturity is much insipidity in the teaching. And this insipidity is another of the deterrents to many men. Often ministers do not realize the *strength* of the sap which is giving life and impulse to the whole. Associated in our minds with Christianity is too much of resignation, mildness, turning the other cheek and peace at any price; and too little of what is strong, manful and joy-giving. We hear much of the meekness of Christ and little of the spirit which overthrew the table of the money-changers; much of the sorrowing and suffering of Christ and little of the Christ who enjoyed marriage feasts and turned not wine into water but water into wine. Too milk-and-watery is much of the teaching—neither rich creamy life-giving milk nor clear sparkling refreshing water.

Men of to-day need stronger fare than this. Many have spent their lives in battling strongly with Nature and with other men, running great risks, incurring great dangers, enduring great hardships. They may have had cause to know God's iron sternness, which

does not shrink from using death itself to enforce His laws: bitter experience may have taught them obedience to His will. But, for all this, they may remain dauntless and unafraid. In serving their country, in serving mankind or in tender personal relations they may have experienced a love that overcometh fear. And such men will not want to be reminded how much they owe to Christ for His having died for them. Often they will have seen their own comrades die for their country. Often they may have risked their own lives. That a man should give his life for his fellows they accept as a matter of course. And they want presented to them something with more in it of the gay courage with which they have seen their comrades face death and danger.

But if insipidity is distasteful to them they are not averse from tenderness. Experience of the world does not harden: it softens. And there is no part of Christ's teaching which men of the world would wish more brought out than that in which He declares that we must become again as little children. This is what appeals to them. This that Christ Himself said, appeals to them much more than many of the things that are said about Him.

Another sign of immaturity is the meticulous imitation of Christ, and this also deters men. It is like the way in which small school-boys imitate some boy hero—copying all his little mannerisms. It is like taking a photograph of a man instead of painting his picture. An artist does not try to reproduce an exact copy of the outward appearance of a man. He enters into the spirit of the man whose portrait he is to paint; and then in his picture he expresses the feelings which that spirit has produced upon him, and tries to make us feel as he, the artist, did. Servile imitation is directly contrary to the whole nature of Jesus. The essence of His teaching was the need of going straight to the spirit—not halting at the letter. All His teaching was direct, spontaneous, fresh, genuine—qualities which cannot be retained by imitation. Imitation ruins the spirit. Take an example. Jesus showed that one way of making an enemy into a friend was by turning the other cheek. But we need not slavishly copy that particular method on every occasion and with every kind of enemy. Jesus Himself did not always turn the other cheek. Another way of achieving the same object is by fighting your enemy. By fighting clearly and fearlessly, you may gain his respect and admiration. The essence of the matter is that whether

by turning the other cheek or by hitting back straight, there should be good-will and not spite and malice and fierce rancorous hatred at the bottom of the heart. There may be hard and steadfast fighting with gaiety and good-will at heart. And human history is full of instances of men and nations who have gained the admiration and eventually the love of their enemies after a stern but clean fight.

Non-resistance to evil is another direction in which the letter rather than the spirit of Christ's teaching is followed. Christ Himself resisted evil. He even attacked it in forthright fashion. Often not resisting evil encourages its growth. If weeds are allowed to run riot the garden is choked. If plague is not fought the city becomes a graveyard. But if we fight the evil we have the Spirit of God with us. For the Power at work in the world is a *redemptive* Power: it is for ever redeeming the evil—turning the evil into good. It is a restorative, refining and refreshing power, which brings salvation to the soul. And it is this redeeming power which Jesus revealed—this power to cleanse and purify and save us. It is this spirit therefore that we need to cultivate.

Men of to-day would, then, wish to approach Christ in no slavish spirit of mere imitation but in proud consciousness that they also are sons of God and partakers of the Divine Spirit. They object to having to copy His teachings letter by letter. They want to be led to understand His spirit, that it may arouse a like spirit in themselves. Only in this will they imitate Him—in being true to their own selves and to the Divine Spirit within them. Thus and thus only, they hold, can they truly be Christians.

These are some of the reasons why seriously religious men find it difficult to work more whole-heartedly with the Churches. But while they make these criticisms—as they are accustomed to criticize Government or criticize Science or Art—this does not mean that they do not appreciate the work the Churches have done. They recognize the Churches as a precious nucleus in the national life. And if they see defects in the Churches they are largely due to themselves. They have the Church they deserve—and a great deal better one; and they may be grateful that there are not more defects. And the fruits of its work we can see in the spirit abroad in the land. Even now when sorely stricken by war hundreds of millions of pounds are spent every year in the care of the poor; their health is looked after, hospitals are provided for them, they are educated free

and they are provided with houses at less than cost price. The war is taken as a sign of the breakdown of Christianity; but when have men striven harder for peace? when has there been a more determined effort to bring good-will to the settlement of differences between nations and between the different sections of nations? And if anyone would think that Christianity has failed, let him watch what happens on Christmas Day. Throughout the world the birth of Jesus is celebrated. On that day all business is suspended: it is a holy day. Differences are forgotten, good-will only is thought of. All strive to make others happy. And so universal is the appeal that Hindus and Mohammedans join with Christians in wishing us a happy Christmas. This is a fact and a fact of far deeper significance than the World War. For it is repeated year after year. And by sheer force of repetition alone it would sink into the heart of mankind.

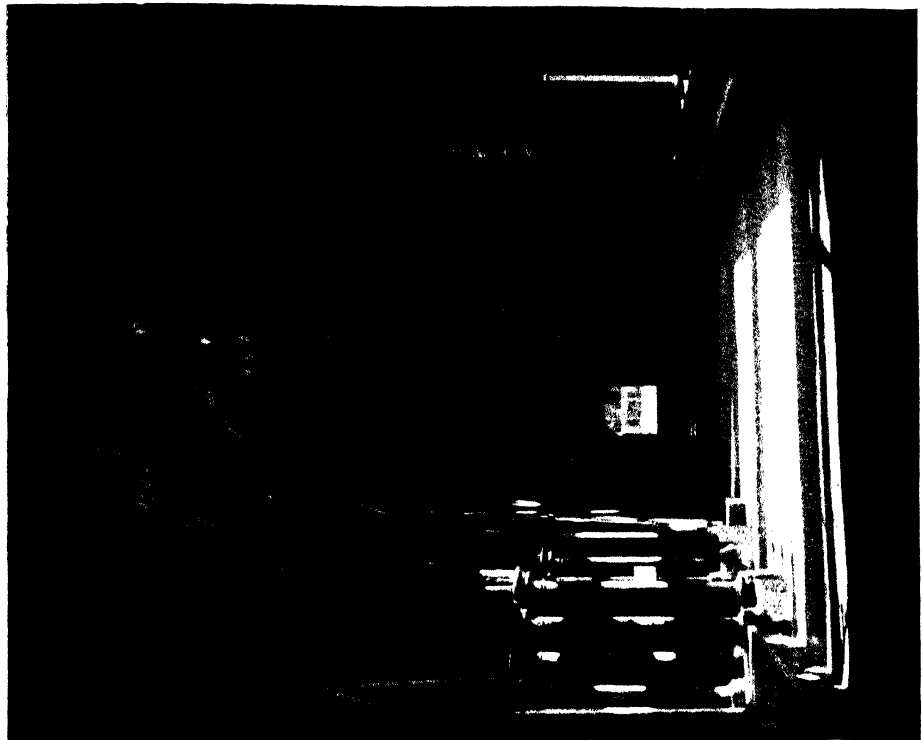
Yet with all they have done the position of the Churches is serious. They are now at the parting of the ways—as indeed all of us continually are: always before us is the choice whether to higher and greater or to meaner and lower. They have to choose whether by allowing Christianity to become more rigid and exclusive they will let it sink to a minor place in the forward religious movement of mankind, or whether by making it more fluid and inclusive they can make it embrace the whole movement and be its mainspring and inspiring impulse. They have to choose between the rigidity of the rod or the fluidity of the flame—which with all its fluidity always flames upwards.

If Christianity continues to bow at the name of Jesus but remains unbent at the name of God; if it regards Jesus as the end and not as the “way,” it will be left behind and Religion will sweep past it to God Himself. But if it regards Jesus as the way and not the end; and if, like Jesus Himself, it pays full reverence to God and preaches the kingdom of heaven, then it will keep in the very central line of the main religious movement and be its chief inspiration.

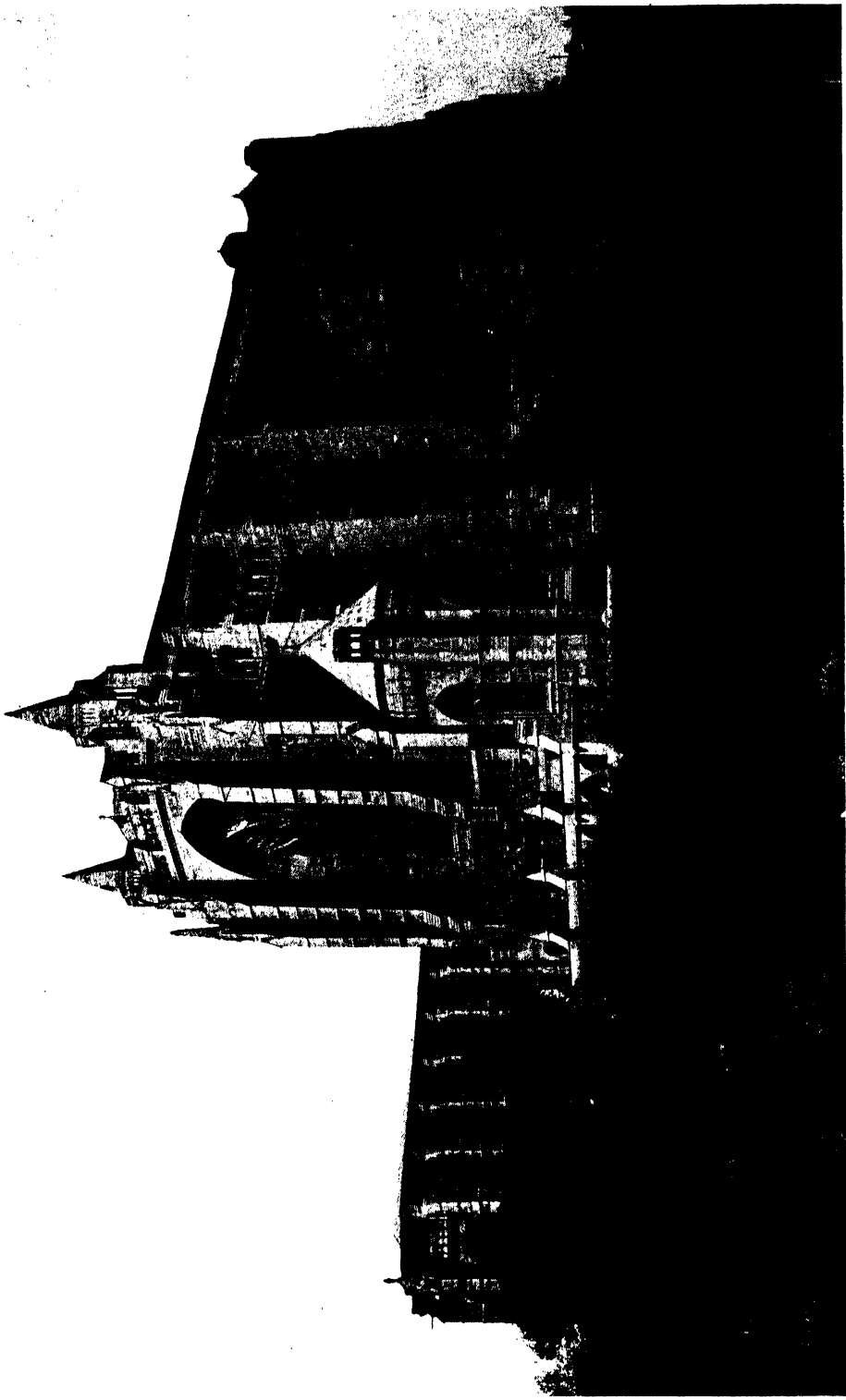
And a still further task lies before the Churches. Not only have they to keep Christianity in the forefront of the world’s religious movement, but they have to keep religion itself at the head of the whole spiritual activities of man. And for pride of place there are other contestants. Not so long ago science tried to dethrone religion. Nowadays philosophy is a rival. But if religion



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is to be the very core and basis of our life and provide both the goal towards which we should direct our lives and the means and impulse to reach it, then the Churches must not stand aloof from art and science and philosophy, but enlist their fullest support. At present, while, rightly enough, they pay much heed to the cultivation of goodness they pay small attention to beauty and have none of that thirst for the truth at any cost that science and philosophy display. In these days they inspire few great artists, painters or musicians with religious feeling. They have estranged men of science. And though philosophy is now inclined to give its patronage to religion it only does this on the assumption that philosophy is to take the leading place: it puts on the air of sitting in the seat of wisdom and paternally patting religion on the head.

Against this attitude religion must protest. It can fearlessly face philosophy, for religion has everything to gain from truth; and all the results of philosophy it can advantageously absorb. But it can show philosophy that it has means of acquiring truth which philosophy by itself does not possess. Through trained and cultured religious feeling, used in addition to the intellect, it possesses a means of reaching deeper truths as to the fundamental nature of things than philosophy alone could ever reach. And through these deeper truths it can reach a higher wisdom. And in addition to this higher wisdom it has a driving power for action such as is lacking in philosophy. Certainly intellect and cold, hard, clear thinking is needed in arriving at the truth; but the intellect has not the penetrating power to pierce into the heart of things that the Divine spark of the soul has and cannot give us so clear a vision of the nature of God: and consequently it cannot reach so high a wisdom.

A reference to the case of patriotism will illustrate this point. Before the outbreak of the war, men were going about their customary avocation full of that ordinary wisdom called common-sense. And this plain common-sense would have told them that it would be ridiculous to give up good positions and every comfort of home and to place themselves in situations of the greatest danger, where there was every chance of being blown to pieces at any moment. Yet when the sentiment of patriotism was aroused this is exactly what they did. And looking back now, we can see that though they acted against ordinary common-sense, yet they did act in accordance with a higher wisdom. The call of patriotism had

brought into being a higher wisdom. And so is it also when the call of religion is made. It brings into being a higher wisdom than even philosophy can declare. In addition, religion, like patriotism, brings with it a mighty impulse to carry out what wisdom dictates. It does not, like philosophy, simply sit in a chair and say wise words.

But while religion must hold its own and refuse to be supplanted by philosophy in spiritual leadership, it should show its wisdom by reaping for itself the full benefit which must accrue from that interaction with it of art and philosophy (including science) which must always to some extent exist. For every man is born with something of the philosopher and something of the poet in him, as well as a predisposition towards religion. We can all recall how as children we were incessantly inquisitive as to why and what things were; and we can remember how we admired their beauty, and in our imagination built up wonderful worlds for ourselves. This connection with art and philosophy religion should never allow to weaken. The advantages of the connection are obvious. Musicians like Bach with his *Passion Music*; artists like Blake with his pictures, showing the awfulness as well as tenderness of God; poets like Cowper with his hymn "God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform"; architects like Giles Scott with the *Liverpool Cathedral*—all greatly enrich religious feeling. Philosophers like Bradley help to emphasize the spiritual nature of the world and clarify our ideas as to the fundamental nature of things. And scientific men like Darwin help to deepen our sense of connection with animal and plant life and with physical nature and increase our wonder at the Eternal Power of which all this is the outward manifestation.

Religion has great good to gain from these and their like and should go out of its way to attract them to it. And all this it can infuse with its own spirit so that it can give as well as receive—and indeed give more than it receives—so that by giving it has the means at hand for attracting them. Genuine, heartfelt, religious emotion, the joy and exultation of religious experience, can only make the artist more sensitive to beauty and can only quicken into intenser activity the intellectual efforts of the philosopher. And there is no artist and no philosopher and no man of science who would not do his work the better, who would not see a richer beauty and reach a deeper truth, if he were imbued with deep religious feeling—if

he were accustomed to put himself in line and close communion with the central principle of the world and to feel towards it that reverence and love which dwelling on his wondrous spirit gives.

And in these ways laymen can and should work with the ministry in the service of the Churches and therefore—of religion. We laymen should recognize it as our part to make the most of the Churches. Unless we respond to their efforts they cannot be effective. But we should realize that the more effective we can make the Churches the better it will be for the world. They have been established for nearly two thousand years now. They have won a great place in human society. They have earned a great prestige. We can destroy that or we can enhance it. But as practical men we should be able to see that there is available no human agency with a tithe of the power for good which the Churches possess. Our experience of life teaches us how necessary it is that the spirit of good-will should be spread over the earth. What agency is there with anything like the capacity for doing this that the Churches enjoy? The success they have already achieved is prodigious, and they are clearly capable of more.

But there is something higher than good-will—though it includes good-will—and that is holiness. And it is the highest because it most satisfies the essential part of us—our souls. It satisfies us as the enjoyment of beauty, or the attainment of truth, or the achievement of goodness satisfies us, only to an intenser degree than any of these because it comprises all of them and has a vitality and a power beyond any one. And it is a quality in a class by itself and supreme above all, for in this experience we participate more fully than in any other in the Divine nature and are most closely in communion with God. It may arise from working for goodness or from making beauty or from pursuing truth as these activities are interpenetrated with one another and as the conditions for its emergence are provided; and it is both the foundation of them and that towards which they all three make. But it is as distinct from even perfect moral goodness as the true is from the beautiful and is the culmination of the world process as far as we know it on this planet. And it has the power to refresh and renew us, to enhance and quicken life, to increase our capacity, illuminate every faculty, glorify every beauty, clarify every truth. Nothing of greater value to mankind exists. And we may be sure that the people who first regard

holiness as their treasure and therefore set their heart upon it will be the people who in the long run will lead the world.

Now for the infusion of holiness into men no agency can compare with the Churches. With their solemn buildings breathing of the sublime and beautiful, their glorious music, their ancient ritual, and above all with their ministers devoted to the divine they have incalculable advantages for spreading holiness.

The question is: Do they completely fulfil their purpose? Do we expect and require of the Churches that this should be their main concern? Are we as sensible to holiness as we are to beauty and as ardently determined to have it? Do the Churches themselves realize that the imparting of holiness is the one thing needful? Zealous and devoted as ministers are, do they always realize that attention to the minutiae of ritual and the details of minor doctrines is the unimportant and the promulgation of the Holy Spirit is the all-important part of their duties?

To these questions both laymen and clergy can only give a negative answer. The Churches have not sufficiently concerned themselves with the fundamentals of religion; and laymen have not with sufficient insistence demanded what in a church they ought to have—religion and religion alone—not politics or economics or sectarian controversies, but religion, and the essence of religion—holiness.

And some, at least, of us must have wished that thought and art could be more brought to the help of religion in the service of the Church. We would like laymen as well as clergy to address us—laymen imbued with deep religious feeling who have devoted themselves to thinking out the profound mysteries of existence, or who have proved and tested their religion in the hard practical work of the world, or who have discovered beauties in the world not yet revealed to most, and all of whom in the reverential feeling of a church could deliver themselves there to the best advantage and to the great benefit of the congregation. And while we would like spiritually-minded laymen as well as clergy to address us—as indeed is already done in many cases—we would like the service itself to be more a work of art, less patchy and disjointed, and more fitted to convey a single strong impression—the prayers, the hymns, the address, all fitting into one another as parts of an organic whole and designed to lead up to and enforce one definite conclusion.

If this could be, and the finest men of thought and art could be attracted to work with the clergy in the service of religion, and if the clergy themselves concentrated their full energy on awakening the souls of men to the beauty of holiness, satisfaction for men's deepest need would be provided; the sense of holiness would be spread abroad in the land, the time would come when it would be considered as uncultured to have no sense of the holy as it now is to have no feeling for beauty, and all would crave eagerly for it.

And when holiness prevails, our life will be more abundant, the soul will be redeemed of its sins, the best in us will be saved, we shall be at one with ourselves and at one with God, and through this atonement at peace with all the world, including ourselves. Again we shall be as little children. And lifted up to a higher place we shall have reached the kingdom of heaven.

That these things may be won is the tidings of great joy which the Churches exist to declare and all men of good-will would readily help them to spread it abroad.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CHURCH'S VIEW OF NON-CHURCHMANSHIP

BY THE REV. FREDERICK W. NORWOOD, D.D.

Churchmen are by no means oblivious to the justice contained in criticisms by non-Churchmen. And yet they feel that the evils complained of are exaggerated, that many of these evils belong to the past while others are being rapidly corrected. But Churchmen feel most of all that the critics in isolating themselves are missing an invaluable opportunity to give constructive aid.

THE problem of the outsider is an ever-recurring one. It has two phases, the first, when most of the people are inside the Church, and to be outside involves serious personal and social deprivations; the second, when the majority are outside, and either from hostility or indifference show no desire to be inside. In the one case the dominant Church is tempted to be arbitrary, narrowly conservative, and over-jealous concerning her solidarity; in the other case she is tempted to be weakly conciliatory or morbidly self-condemnatory.

The Christian Church has passed through both phases and neither is final. There can be no doubt which aspect of the problem is manifest to-day. Church members are well aware that the masses of the people are outside their communion, and the gibes of the outsider on the one hand and the cajoleries of the insider on the other have alike reached a pitiable stage.

Yet the real need never varies. The Church's task is to vindicate her high doctrine and produce the type of character which embodies it. Whether the crowds are inside or outside is a secondary matter. She has seen them inside and yet has deteriorated; she has seen them outside and yet has prevailed, and may do so again. The crowd is never the decisive factor in history. Under any form of administration, what the mass of the people think is the sure presage of what will happen; but the crowd has ever been swayed by minorities. The talisman of the Church is never to be sought in power to contain

the crowd, but in power to influence the crowd. She cannot move the people if they are outside the range of her influence, but she can if they are merely outside her communion.

It may be well to remember that the epic period of Christianity was in the first three centuries, and in those days the crowd was outside the Church. Numerically the Church was then a negligible institution. But her own ranks were solid, her message was positive, her drive was forcible. She was more concerned about the purity of her membership than its numerical strength.

Jesus selected only twelve apostles, and one of them had to be eliminated. He gave counsel that the offence of an insider whose conduct had become a scandal to the brotherhood should not be condoned. He should be reasoned with privately; if that failed, the reproof should be repeated in the presence of witnesses; as a third attempt it should be emphasized by the whole Church, and obduracy persisting he should then be regarded "as a heathen and a publican." (Matt. xviii. 17.)

This reasonable method was apparently followed in apostolic days. Paul, for example, announces in 1 Tim. i. 20, "Hymenæus and Alexander I delivered unto Satan that they might be taught not to blaspheme." He exhorted the Thessalonians in vigorous words to part company with undesirable members. "We command you brethren, in the name of the Lord Jesus, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received from us." The Church, as she strove for the conquest of the world on behalf of Christ, was conceived of rather as a spear-head or wedge, effective by its point rather than by its mass. Quality, not quantity, was the decisive factor.

Growth brought its necessary changes in the direction of the standardizing of methods. There was, even in New Testament times, a development from spontaneous towards strictly regulated methods, but the brethren were ejected when it seemed necessary, for disciplinary and protective rather than for punitive purposes. The aim was to produce penitence and ultimate restoration.

The Church followed the course taken by ten thousand other institutions in the world. The golden days were the days of small numbers but great driving power. Success brought popularity and popularity involved the admixture of elements of alloy. On the one

hand we observe the lowering of standards, on the other the assertion of authority. Even before the influence of Constantine became effective the Synods of Elvira in 305 and of Ancyra in 315 struggled with the necessity of preserving influence by the reduction of numbers.

When the Roman Empire became nominally Christian it was as if a great net had been thrown out into the sea of humanity, enclosing a multitude of fishes both good and bad. Those who think that the problem of the Church would be solved if she could but "capture the multitude" should study the history of that time.

Now men sought for inclusion within her sphere. To be outside the Church had social and personal disadvantages obvious to the least spiritual. The power to excommunicate passed also into the hands of the Bishop and was liable to abuse. Bishops were but men, and a bishopric was at once a position to defend and a power to wield.

The primitive emphasis upon purity of life and determination to win the world for Christ was shifted insensibly to obedience to a system already triumphant. Uncompromising loyalty to conscience might be a disturbing revolt from the *status quo*. Solidarity was conceived of in terms of acceptance of authorized dogma and loyal support of the established regime. Thus the qualities which would once have made a man an ideal church-member might now make him a schismatic. The heretics were often enough the truly vital Christians. And these things happened not because human nature became suddenly corrupt, but just because it remained human nature.

The bishopric was also a power to be wielded. There began a long struggle for supremacy even as between bishops, and the palm went to Rome. Then the power to cast out from the Church passed through amazing phases. In 998 Pope Gregory V excommunicated the entire country of France; in 1102 Gregory VII put a ban upon Germany; in 1155 Adrian IV put Rome under the interdict; and in 1208 Innocent III placed the censure of the Church upon England. Let anyone visualize what it means to enforce such an edict upon an entire country, wherein are humble faithful souls as well as contumacious, to say nothing of the multitude who "cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand," and it is apparent how far the Church had travelled from the apostolic days.

Here is no occasion for a Pharisaic attitude on our part. The Church was simply composed of ordinary men and women. Had one the space at command, it would be easy to find parallels in the history of a hundred other societies, not all of them religious in character. It is the story of most movements of a revolutionary character; first the impingement upon the mass of a few determined spirits, excluding from their number with stern rigour individuals who weakened its attack: then the day of power when the refractory have become the predominating party, and suppress or exclude all who persist in being refractory. Fully to illustrate that thesis would involve the recounting of the greater part of human history. We shall get nearest to the truth if we never forget that the Church, like all other terrestrial institutions, is comprised of ordinary human beings. Grace may refine but it has not so far revolutionized human nature.

The Protestant Reformation was a fire kindled by the excommunicated. Martin Luther did not conceive of himself as a rebel till the Church made him one. It surprised him that his increased Christian vitality should seem a threat to established Christianity. His surprise was shared by the other great leaders who amplified and consolidated his work.

But Protestantism held tenaciously to the idea of union between Church and State. Solidarity has been the insistent bugbear. Every branch of the Church has in turn been denounced as schismatic. First the Anglican in the eyes of Rome, then the Presbyterian in the eyes of the Anglican, and the Congregationalist and the Baptist in the eyes of both. And the process is not yet exhausted. It has been checked mainly by the defection of the multitude. We learn toleration for the most part by being compelled to tolerate. The lesson is seldom mastered in the day of power but in that of humiliation. When those to be tolerated become the majority then most often are they tolerated.

We have all used "excommunication" as a weapon until we have found its point turned against ourselves. It is a persistent human instinct to preserve solidarity by keeping outside those who threaten its compactness. The idea of unity in difference dawns slowly upon us. The Church has been vulnerable to the temptation to coerce the mind as well as the conduct of men. It was the outcome of a half-truth which has proved exceedingly dangerous. The half

which was true was that belief is the fountain of conduct: the half which was false was the notion that belief can be imposed from without or made to persist in spite of the emergence of contradictory facts.

The Church has notoriously fallen into ill-advised conflict with science. She has assumed positions which seemed true and has done so with perfect good faith; but when, as has often happened, advancing knowledge has undermined the old assumptions, she has fought bravely but unwisely on behalf of the old positions against the new facts. And recklessly she has unchurched and discredited those whom sincere conviction precluded from compromise. The motive has ever been the same: it was the preservation of solidarity.

Protestantism gained her dynamic from the Scripture and felt that there only was enshrined her right to resist the overwhelming strength of the Church. The appeal was from the institution to the Book, and the appeal was valid. No wonder that the Book became sacrosanct in every jot and tittle. But time brought its Nemesis. The closer but cooler study of the book stresses its inevitable human admixture. Science challenged its cosmogony and in parts its history. The Church ruthlessly enough made heretics of those who were disciples of truth. She thrust them out rather than welcomed them in. That always seems the most prudent course for a great organization to take. But if it is truth that is shut out it will win its way. Not only the savants but the multitude have adopted the newer learning, and now that they are frankly "outside," the Church is going after them, quite well aware, though now it is rather late in the day, that the war was a mistake.

It would be almost too bad to emphasize this point by referring to certain aspects of the controversy known as Fundamentalism. No body of men, either political or ecclesiastical in character, can settle by a mere vote whether or not some scientific theory is true or false. That must be tested out in the fires of research and in no other way. If multitudes of people are persuaded that such a theory is true, and if they are for that reason unchurched, they merely go to swell the numbers, already great enough, of those who are "outside." Being honest in their view they are better outside than if they could be coerced into being dishonestly inside. Yet history has shown a thousand times that not only they but multitudes of others who have broken away from conventional religious thought

might have remained inside. Christianity does not stand or fall by any scientific discovery whatsoever. Galileo need not have been repressed, for modern Christianity is not less at home upon a moving world than it was upon a stationary one. The Copernican theory did not bring in the glacial age for faith. Evolution will not profoundly alter the needs of the human soul.

There are other considerations, not merely intellectual in their incidence, which have tended to put well-meaning people outside the Church. One of them is the increasing widening of the range of human interests. We live in a bigger and more complex world than did our fathers. The Church, as constituted, only touches these interests with an occasional pin-prick. Every vital man and woman is now in membership with societies, or is interested in questions to which the scriptures or the formularies of the Church make scarcely any reference. I fail to understand how the Church can have been so unwise, but I am alarmed to contemplate how often she has treated sincere people as if they were inimically "outside" and not merely engaged in trying out some new line of thought which may eventually mean the enrichment of the Church's own life. All such social or philosophical experiments need, and need greatly, to be informed with the spirit of the Christian faith, but the day will never come again when, as an institution, the Church can comprise within herself the sphere for their full expression. For my part as a minister, I should be disappointed with such of my members as have not interests "outside" the Church. I do not want them to be "outside" in the sense of being alien to the Spirit of the Faith; but the Church can never again hold in her grasp all the activities of human life. She should be diffident about classing any man or woman as "outside" who is engaged in useful human service. Her place is not to administer such service, but to give to it tone and quality.

The Church has rightly emphasized the great ideas of eternity and immortality. That is part of her function; perhaps its greater part. There is nothing that ought to be done in time by mortal men that would not be better done when eternity forms its background.

But it has been charged against her that in her concern for the eternal she has overlooked the temporal, and in her care for the soul she has neglected the body. Like most sweeping accusations, it is in part true. She could justly plead in defence that most people

exaggerate the importance of the temporal and the physical. Much might be forgiven her, if only her protest had been effectual.

The world has never gained anything in the end when it has persuaded the Church to put the soft pedal upon her transcendental words and join in the general rag-time which may be the vogue of the hour. The truth is that time and eternity are one, and body and soul are one. Men are jerry-builders when they build only for the hour, and they are animals when they care only for the body. The Church must take hold with both hands of the hour and of the things of the body, and lift them both into the nobler realm of the eternal and the spiritual.

But my point for the moment is a sorrowful admission that she has exercised too freely her ancient habit of excommunication, and classed as "outside" things that are really of spiritual texture; and as "outsiders" those who at least were concerned with the raw material which is as the warp to the woof of spiritual truth.

Again the Church has rightly stressed the value of the individual soul. This also is her everlasting prerogative, which she should never surrender. In some saner age it will be counted to her for righteousness that she has made this crucial contribution to human well-being. In that day it will be recognized how desperately strong have been the forces which have ever tended to submerge the individual. I do not believe that this world can carry on healthfully if men lose the faculty for seeing their personal lives outlined against a background of accountability, not to many only, but to God. I would have the Church hold on to that pronouncement whether the crowds come or go.

But just now the crowds are "going," largely because they are compelled to be interested in mass movements, in contrast to which the Church's appeal to individuals seems curiously ineffective.

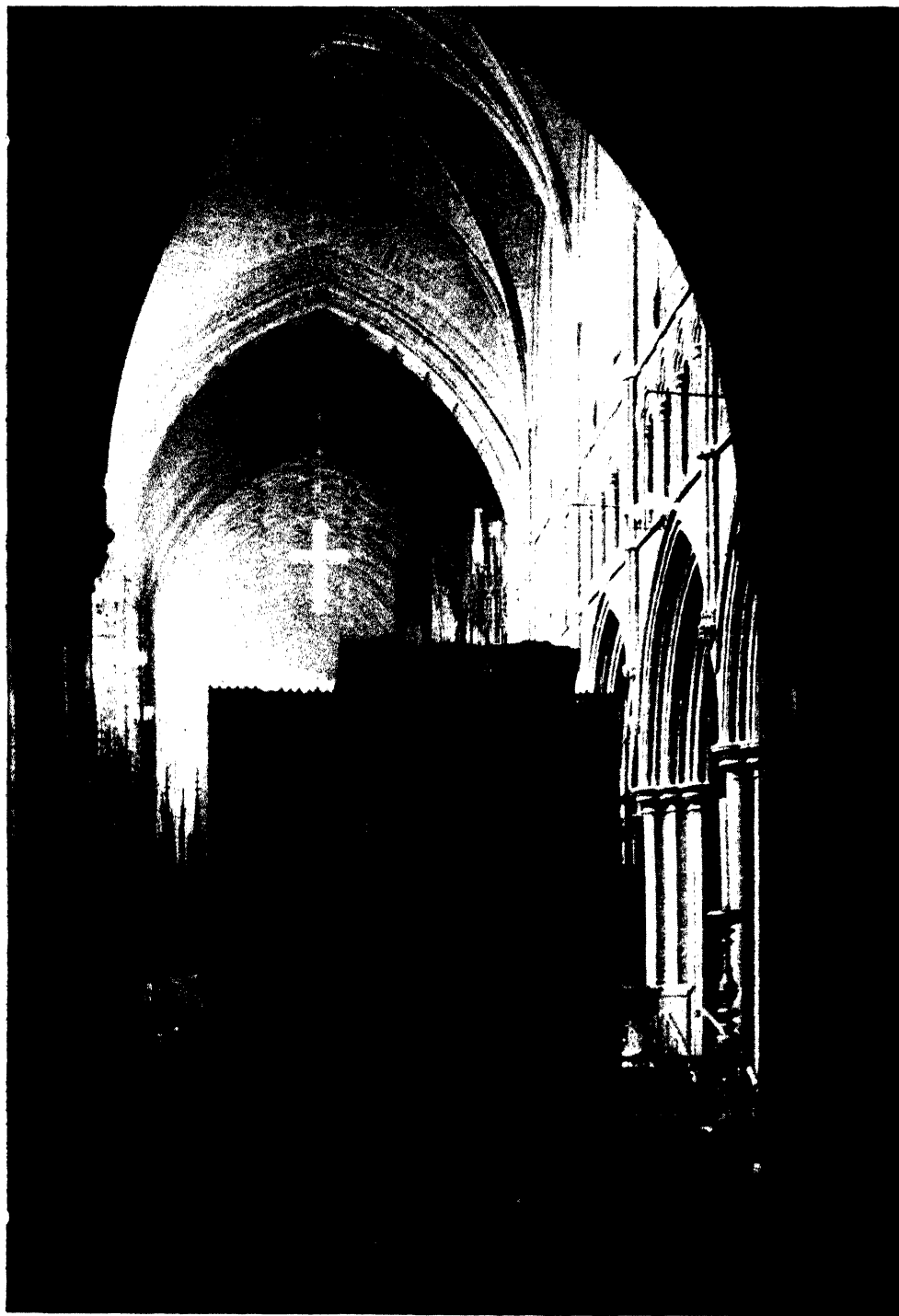
Not only "outsiders" are feeling this, but "insiders" also. The following is the statement of a Christian business man:

"It is a common taunt that the Church has lost its hold upon the people. The truth, however, may not be quite so simple as that. May it not be that the great eternal conflict of right and wrong has changed into something infinitely more complex, has become not so much individual as social, not so much personal as impersonal? The wrong once capable of isolation in the individual conscience



THE NAVE, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

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BEHIND THE REREDOS OF CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

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has by complex multiplication become an immense disorder infecting the whole social organism and involving the innocent with the guilty. The Church still has the power to speak to the individual heart and mind, but it cannot do so in the same clear, authoritative way as of old. Of what use to speak truth and honesty to the workman whose whole livelihood may easily depend upon his acquiescence and connivance in the very opposites of those qualities in his daily work; of what use to talk charity to the struggling employer faced with a pitiless economic warfare that knows neither charity nor mercy? The Church may charge the consciences of men in matters of lust, intemperance and greed; how can it charge the conscience of a great conglomerate system with 'no body to be kicked or soul to be damned'? It is no longer so much personal sin with which it has to deal; it is sin consolidated with usage, grown Gargantuan by coalescence; it is the sin of society and of the modern world.

"Let nothing I have written be held to detract from personal responsibility for sin; my object rather has been to show that sin has become more than personal—it has become communal. It is precisely because of this that the Church—apart from other causes into which there is no need to enter here—has lost its appeal. This, however, may not be for long. Given faith and patience and eternal vigilance in the things of the spirit, its opportunity will come again. If it can seize this opportunity it can stimulate and finally dominate the greatest revival this world has ever known." (W. T. Carter in the *Congregational Quarterly*, July, 1925.)

No one in touch with the situation will deny that this is an authentic voice speaking for multitudes who are outside the Church as well as for many who are still within her ranks.

The world is, in fact, almost strangled under the weight of its own organizations. It has been so much easier to organize material forces than to create personal character. Who can think of the problem of war without perceiving this? Every individual now loathes it and scorns its pretence of effectiveness, but militarism is like a runaway locomotive from which the driver has fallen, which travels surely upon the rails laid down for it nearer and nearer to its catastrophe. And almost every man merely stands aside and lets it run on, sure, whether scornful or sorrowful, that it cannot be stopped. So with regard to industrial disturbances, wantonly

destructive as they are known to be, the two contending sides, continue only to pile up their organizations higher and higher, as if the great magnitude of the crash were the only possible objective. Men realize, as Mr. Carter says, that they have been depersonalized. The thin spire of the Church seems to symbolize an individual approach to blessedness which it is a futility to expect.

Many lay the blame of this state of things upon the Church. Some part of it at least must truly rest there. She has not been sufficiently productive of the social conscience. Indeed, she has "cast out" many a social reformer. She was right in her insistence upon individual responsibility, but defective in her demand that the major part of that responsibility lay in lifting up others. Even now the chief hope lies in individuals, and in groups of individuals, acting in a Christian way upon the masses of the people.

The Church is awaking from her sleep. It is rather late in the day, for the masses have drifted far away, but it is not too late. The air is full of voices—voices only as yet, but the voices belong to bodies, and we may yet see an army with banners. Its numerical strength will not be its initial test, but the acumen and faithfulness of its members.

The Christian Order of Industry and Commerce has published a "statement of aims" in the following terms:

"1. We acknowledge Christ as the Head of this concern and His law of Love and Service as its First Article of Association.

"2. Our responsibility towards those employed in the business as well as towards those of the outside public with whom we deal is determined by our allegiance to Him.

"3. Our motive in dealing with the general public is that we may serve in the fullest possible degree their wants and needs.

"4. Since every individual man and woman is equally precious in God's sight we regard human labour as a God-sent gift that demands in return:

(a) Adequate means to maintain life in reasonable comfort.

(b) Provision in times of emergency and sickness, and when active work is over.

(c) The best and most healthy conditions under which the 'gift' is exercised.

(d) Full and complete freedom for the development of this 'gift' in an enriched personality and service.

These requirements demand that their satisfaction shall be a first charge upon the business.

" 5. We regard the receipt of money and the disposal of profits as a trust imposed upon us to be administered in the best interests alike of those engaged in the business and of those who contribute to or benefit by its activities.

" 6. Our aim is so to conduct our business that human life may be enriched and the evils of poverty, selfishness and human misery annulled."

It sounds quixotic but is no more ambitious than is Bolshevism and has the advantage of being rational even if not immediately possible.

If Christianity had clearly envisaged such a goal a few centuries ago, and had not paused upon its successes in the days of its power, how differently might history have been written ! Yet the world is still young. Mankind is still in its infancy. Seen against the background now painted in by geology and biology, Christianity has barely struck its roots, and the tree is by no means dead. Meanwhile, however, the people have drifted. Many who ought to be allies are estranged, or at least indifferent to the voice of the Church.

There is, of course, something to be said in criticism of the "outsider." It never happens in this world that all the faults are upon one side and all the virtues upon the other. On a just balance, the party which is the more drastic in its self-criticism probably possesses the higher ideals and the deeper sincerity. One could wish sometimes that the "outsiders" were as much given to analysing their own shortcomings as the "insiders" are prone to be. Pharisaism on the part of church-members is now almost obsolete, but is sufficiently rampant among their critics. It is the Church's hard fate to be outlined against the white background of an ideal perfection which emphasizes her defects. Men who take it for granted in any other association that human weakness must be tolerated, and refuse to let it mitigate their allegiance, are unsparing in their condemnation when they find it in the Church. With uplifted heads they pass by upon the other side. They forget what they owe to her; they have no praise for her unsundered ideals; they feel no compulsion to shoulder part of her load; they expect the City of God to come down out of heaven, made ready as a bride adorned

for her husband, and have little consciousness of the stony road which has already been gallantly traversed.

Life would not be so fair as it is for any man in Christendom but for the Church. Is it too much to hope that the day is not far distant when the "outsider" will take himself severely to task for being where he is rather than among those who, whatever their faults, have never abandoned the struggle to set up upon the earth the Kingdom of God?

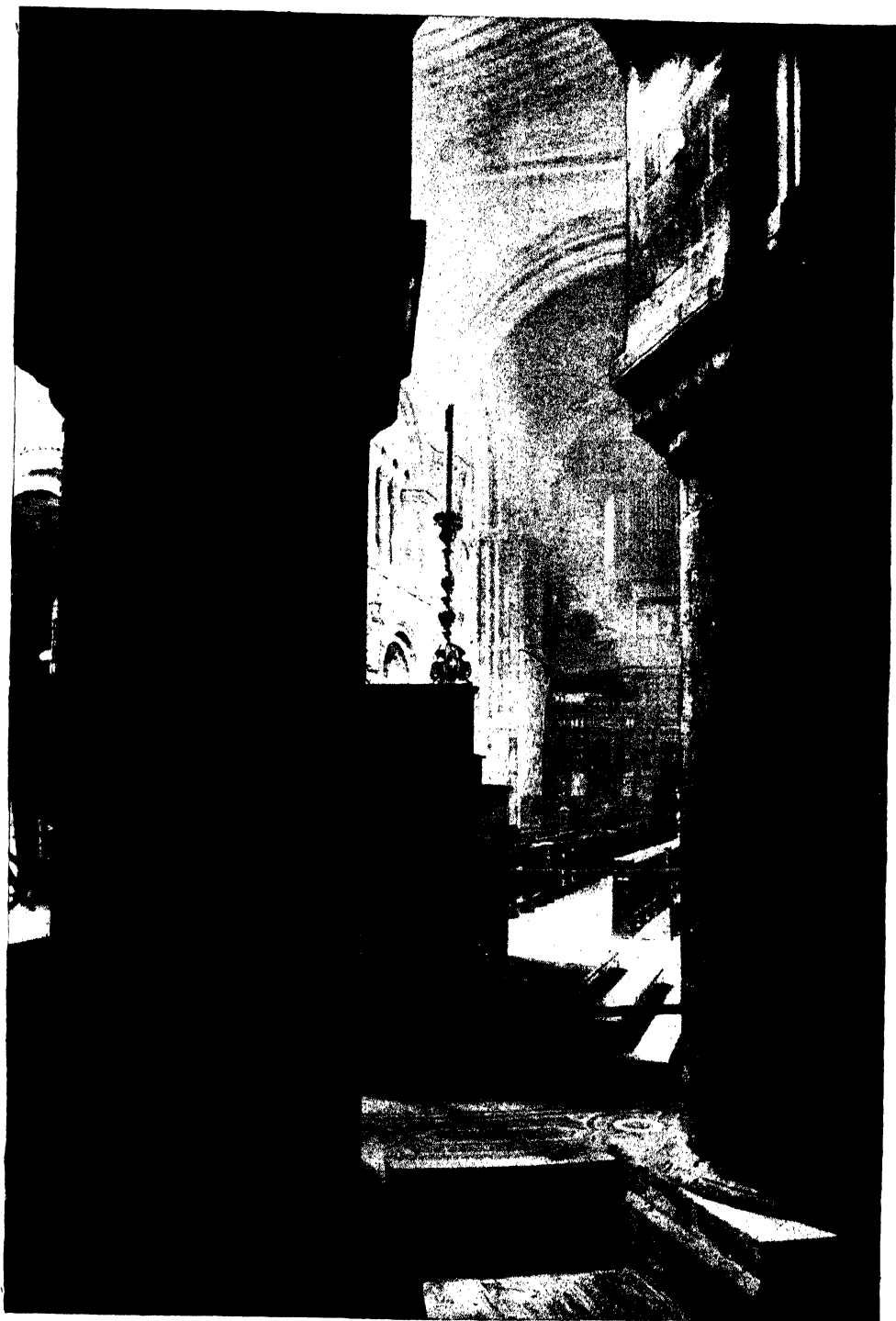
It is time now to turn, so to speak, a new page in this chapter and to contemplate the more hopeful features of the situation. They are certainly there.

I have not been foolishly frank so far in showing that the Church has had her share in the creation of "non-churchmanship." She herself has practised exclusion, sometimes wisely and still more often unwisely. But her cause has ever been greater than her organization. "The love of God is wider than the measure of men's minds." The Church is but an instrument in the hands of a Purpose greater than its tools. She is not exempt from the necessity of repentance, but repentance is not despair. It is rather the morning star which heralds the dawn.

The Church would be heartened if she could visualize the number of "unaffiliated Christians" there are in the world. Many who are not closely identified with her outwardly are in deep sympathy with her ideals.

There is a general idea that the hold of dogma has weakened upon the average man. I should prefer to say that the formulæ under which dogma has been presented have to a great extent grown obsolete. The basic needs are virtually the same as they ever were.

A recent symposium upon "My Religion" contributed by leading novelists to a London daily newspaper revealed a perplexing variety of beliefs, but a surprising unanimity upon two things at least, the necessity of the altruistic virtues being in greater exercise if the world is to be saved, and the wistful longing for assurance concerning the reality of a life beyond. Popular novelists have no special authority in the realm of religion, but their very popularity is some evidence of their ability to render articulate the thoughts of the multitude. These are the things that ordinary men and women supremely value and they are in a peculiar sense intensely Christian things. Christ brings altruism to the height of sublimity



ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT, ONE OF LONDON'S OLDEST CHURCHES.

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TINTERN ABBEY.
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and the hope of immortality is a corner stone of the faith. The world has not moved out of reach of Christianity when it is acutely desirous of its basic elements.

In the long run it becomes a question of dynamics. Can Christianity demonstrate that it can produce men and women who measure life's values in the light of their eternal significance and hold the altruistic virtues as the supreme test of character? Her record in these things is noble enough to inspire hope, the demand in these crucial days is only for the amplification of what she has always carried in her heart. In a word, we have but to be more Christian and the victory is assured. This is all that the alienated, or even the hostile, demand of us.

There can be no doubt that the proof must be submitted among the practical affairs of life. The awakening human conscience does not reject other-worldliness save only when it involves indifference to the needs of the present world. This is but to call us back to the place where the Master would have us be. Christianity was never an esoteric belief in the sense that it inculcated interest in the world beyond to the exclusion of concern for the present order of existence. If there have been occasional aberrations of that kind they have been departures from the true faith and will not take place again. The old gibe that Christians tolerated social injustice on the ground that it mattered little since eternity was so much more important, has entirely lost its sting. The true faith adds eternity to the dynamic forces of life. Earthly wrong is the more intolerable because it conflicts with the everlasting order of the universe.

To say that the next religious revival will take the form of social regeneration is only to state the conviction of all vital Christians. Jesus said that we were not to offer our gift but to leave it before the altar until we had striven to be reconciled with our brother. Of all men, the followers of Jesus are fast becoming most acutely conscious of the unsatisfactory state of our social and economic institutions. Our international maladjustments have become a hideous nightmare.

I see clearly an awakening Church, shaking herself free from her sloth, preening her wings like a mighty eagle for daring flight. She embodies the world's best hope. The problem of the outsider will settle itself along other lines than in the past. They will not be counted as inside who, though they repeat the same credal affirma-

tions, yet resist the impulse of the spirit to "live pure, speak true, right wrong, follow the king."

The Faith will make higher and yet higher demands upon character, and demand more and more service. Dogma must reclothe itself in words that press home to the intellect and to the conscience. It will not be "scrapped" but renewed. For the conquest of the world's wrongs we need more than vague sentimentality; we need "things that are most surely believed among us." The basic ideas of the Apostles' Creed are not remote. We shall believe in God the Father and in Jesus Christ His Son and in the Holy Spirit and in the life everlasting, and these things will offer a mighty fulcrum for the lever that shall move the world. That lever shall be turned at last upon the world instead of being turned vaguely towards the stars. By becoming more practical we shall become more Christian. By bringing spiritual resources to bear upon the actual world we shall secure the permanence of the spiritual.

Then shall the pure in heart seek the fellowship of the Church and they who remain outside, whether with blatant denial or vacuous affirmation, shall know at least that conscience has been confronted with a great challenge. None in this mundane world shall presume to part the sheep and the goats with a bishop's crozier or with a synod's anathema. Every man shall "go to his own place" before the pointed challenge of a revived Church. We are coming again to one of those epochs known among men as "the fullness of the time."

CHAPTER XXVIII

MOVEMENTS TOWARDS CHRISTIAN UNITY

BY THE REV. ROBERT A. ASHWORTH, D.D.

Is the disorganization of corporate Christianity permanent and irremediable? Can the broken unity of the Church ever be restored? The answer to these questions is given by facts. Enormous progress has been made already, progress that a century ago would have seemed impossible. It is in no spirit of reckless optimism that we can predict still more rapid progress in the years now at hand.

THE progress of the movement among the separated churches of Christendom toward a closer union and a more complete co-operation, which characterizes our day, is deeply significant in its bearing upon the competency of the Church to lead the world into an era of increasing inter-racial and international understanding and brotherhood.

The improvement of facilities of travel and communication within the last century have brought together the ends of the earth. The barriers of time and space that once held men apart have been lowered or removed by the inventions of science. To the conquest of the "salt, unplumbed, estranging sea," and of the enormous distances of continental lands, by steamship and railway, this generation has added the conquest of the air by airship, aeroplane and radio. We are assured that the time may not be far distant when one may breakfast in London and dine in New York upon the same day. Already man, without raising his voice, may reach the ears of his fellows on the other side of the earth, and the thoughts of men may be interchanged with a speed rivalling that of light. No man can any longer live unto himself; no nation can dwell in monastic seclusion. All mankind is being bound up in one bundle of life, and the world is rapidly being gathered into a single neighbourhood.

But a more compact world is not necessarily a more united world. It may be questioned whether science, with all its achievements in drawing men together physically, has not, thus far, raised as many

problems as it has solved. As men of diverse races, traditions and material interests are brought together within a narrower compass, the strains incident to human association and the dangers of the violent disruption of society are increased. The more congested the community and the more intimate the association of those who dwell within it, the more difficult it is to maintain harmony, and the more disastrous are the effects of conflict. If men are to master the fine art of living together under these new conditions, there must be acquired a new spiritual attitude on the part of man toward his neighbour, and a stronger bond of fellowship.

Thus, while humanity is fast becoming socially and economically interdependent as a result of these closer contacts, all world problems are being resolved into aspects of a single spiritual problem, that of human solidarity. The future is hopeful only if the morals of men can be adjusted to their new powers. The world neighbourhood must be transformed into a world brotherhood.

It is this necessity that is inspiring efforts to interpret race to race, and to overcome the prejudices, animosities and rivalries that divide white men from black or yellow or brown men. Only a gospel of justice and brotherhood offers hope of a solution of the race question.

It is a recognition of the necessity of some form of co-operative good-will between nations, also, which has inspired the organization of the League of Nations and the World Court. The statesmen of the world have been driven to the conclusion that the causes of war must at all cost be minimized and war be outlawed if civilization is to endure. The separate nations must delegate a portion of their rights and powers and must unite in the interest of all the purposes which they possess in common. Individuals of different races and nations, moreover, are coming together in organizations for the promotion of many common interests, such as public health or education or science or industry. These are all evidences of an awakening sense of the need of human comity and of the conviction that the problems of the new world cannot be solved unless men attack them unitedly.

Now neither science nor any mechanical invention can furnish to society the tie which is needed to hold it together. You may band the continents with ribbons of steel and encircle the earth with invisible currents of electric energy and yet leave men hopelessly apart in sympathy and understanding. Brotherhood is an attitude of

mind and can be developed only by spiritual forces. The only permanent source of the spirit of human brotherhood is to be found in religion which, historically speaking, has been the great unifying principle of society. "No change which is in progress in our time," writes Benjamin Kidd, "as the result of the extending conception of society is more striking than that which is taking place in our estimate of the influences in the evolution of society of the integrating conceptions of the human mind hitherto represented mainly in the great systems of religion, which are thus in the deepest sense rendering society organic." If this is true of religion in general, it is pre-eminently true of Christianity, which is a gospel of social comradeship, of the brotherhood of man based upon the universal Fatherhood of God. It is of the nature of the Christian Church that it shall be a supernatural body. The truth expressed by an unknown writer of the second century is applicable to-day: "What the soul is in the body, that are Christians in the world. For the soul holds the body together and Christians hold the world together. This illustrious position has been assigned to them of God, which it were unlawful for them ever to forsake."

This determines an important function of the Christian Church in our time. It is the custodian of a gospel of fraternity of which the world stands sorely in need, and of a dynamic which will make that gospel effective. It is the peculiar task and the sacred obligation of the Church, therefore, to establish upon earth the Kingdom of God, a state of society in which all men shall love God as their Father, and live together as brothers. As the appointed instrument of this ideal it is just and right that the Church, together with all its forms of organization and methods of work, should be judged in terms of the efficiency with which it fulfils its function and contributes to the solidarity of mankind.

In view of this task of the Church the significance of the movement toward Christian unity can hardly be exaggerated. There is no greater service which the Church could render to this generation than that of supplying an effective leadership in the enterprise of establishing the spirit of fraternity among nations and in all human relations whatsoever. The opportunity for such leadership is within its grasp. It may be said that thoughtful men the world over are looking to the Christian Church to supply it. The widespread disappointment expressed in many quarters at the failure of the Church so to proclaim

and commend its principles as to prevent the World War is not merely a criticism of the Church; it is an admission that leadership in such a cause properly belongs to the followers of the Prince of Peace. But it is obvious that the Church itself must exemplify the spirit which it seeks to inculcate if it is to assume such leadership. If the Church cannot attain or maintain the spirit of brotherhood within its own ranks, how can it promote it among conflicting races, or nations, or social factions within the nation? These will surely say to it, "Physician, heal thyself!" If the Church has so little learned the secret of its Lord, how can it impart it to others?

What, then, are the facts, and what are the prospects, as to the unity of Christendom? This chapter seeks to review in outline the story of union, disunion and reunion which the unfolding history of the Church records.

There is, and has always been, an inner unity of spirit among the individual disciples of Jesus Christ, not always or everywhere apparent, it is true, but nevertheless real. There is a "communion of the saints" which no external divisions can destroy, and an invisible "Holy Catholic Church" that transcends all artificial boundaries, the members of which are knit together by a common origin, a common vital energy, and a common aim. However Christians may differ, all the churches share the desire to diffuse among men the spirit of Christ until it shall control all hearts, transform all human institutions and redeem both the individual and society. How rich is the heritage of this community, how vigorous this interpenetrating life and how harmonious its fundamental purpose!

There is a unity of Christian scholarship that ignores denominational lines and which, in the measure in which it discovers truth, sounds the same note. "The lovers of the truth are one." The modern Revised Bible in English, for example, as Dr. Philip Schaff has pointed out, is a noble monument to a united Christian scholarship, representing, as it does, the co-operative labours, through fourteen years, of about one hundred British and American scholars—Anglicans, Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Friends and Unitarians.

There is, moreover, a larger degree of doctrinal and devotional

agreement than is commonly recognized. Differ as they may in formal creed and in theology, Christians are not far apart in their convictions as to what is essential to the Christian message. All worship the one Father in heaven, revealed through the same Lord, Jesus Christ, and pray together in the words taught them by their Master. In sacred song they unite hearts and voices in the great hymns of the Church universal, by whomsoever they may have been written, whether it be "Jesu, Lover of my Soul," by Wesley the Methodist, or "Rock of Ages," by Toplady the Calvinist, or "In the Cross of Christ I Glory," by Bowring the Unitarian, or "Lead, Kindly Light," by Newman the Roman Catholic.

Again, all approve the same types of conduct, and recognize as Christian the same qualities of character. No single denomination has a monopoly of the fruits of the Spirit, and no communion can claim pre-eminence in devotion to Jesus Christ. Christians are closer together in conduct than in creed. "Mrs. Barbauld," writes James Freeman Clarke, "has a little apologue to show that charity, or love to man, is the same thing in all sects and churches. A mother is walking with her boy on Sunday in the streets of a large city. The street is filled with people who turn into different churches—some into the Established Church, some into the different chapels. And the little boy wonders why, since they have the same Master, they should go in such different directions. But when the services are over, and the people are on their way home, a man falls in the street with a sudden attack of illness; and then a Presbyterian runs and lifts him from the ground, a Methodist runs for a doctor, a Baptist gets water and bathes his forehead; and the mother turning to her boy says, 'You see, my child, that though their modes of worship are different, their charity is the same.'"

II

While there has been so large a degree of spiritual unity among the followers of Christ, it has not expressed itself in a visible, organic form since very early in Christian history. At the beginning there was but one Church. In New Testament times, while there were brotherhoods or churches in many places, all Christians conceived themselves to be, not simply members of a congregation at Philippi or Ephesus, but of the universal Christian Church, of which the church in a particular city was only a local manifestation. The earliest

Christians thought of their community as a family, and conversion marked their adoption into the household of faith.

It is interesting and significant, in view of modern proposals for Christian reunion, to note what were the bonds that held the earliest disciples together within a single Church. What was the basis of Christian unity during the only period in history in which it has prevailed?

It was not, certainly, similarity of temperament on the part of the early disciples of our Lord, for in this regard there were differences the most extreme. There was John the mystic, who speaks directly to the heart, and Paul the theologian and missionary, and James the intensely practical moralist. Simon the zealot, moreover, an insurgent against the Roman government because of the imposition of taxes, and Matthew the publican, a collector of those taxes, though their interests were most diverse, were members of the same community of faith.

Nor was it identity of doctrinal belief. The first disciples did not subscribe to a formal creed. There is more than one type of theology in the New Testament. "The Holy Spirit," says Professor Herrmann, "works synthetically, not analytically, and the composition of the New Testament clearly shows this. If Christians seek unity by means of unalterable doctrine, then they must give up the authority of the New Testament. For in the New Testament there is no unalterable doctrine which embraces the whole scheme of Christian thought. . . . It is no imperfection, it is rather an excellence, and thoroughly as it should be, that the epistles of the New Testament are messages for definite circumstances, and not contributions to a doctrinal system which shall be valid to all eternity."

Nor was the unity of the early Church based upon uniformity in polity or modes of church organization and administration, since, as is generally agreed, all forms of polity that exist to-day, presbyteral, congregational and episcopal, existed in germ in New Testament times. Similarity in forms of worship, moreover, was evidently not essential to unity, for, side by side with the freest expression of religious devotion, fragments of liturgy are found embedded in the inspired writings.

The unity of the early Church was founded upon loyalty to the one Lord of the Church and on fidelity to the cause of His Kingdom.

Each bound to the Christ, they were bound to one another. Each conscious of the indwelling life of Christ, they were united in the enjoyment of a common experience. It was first a union of spirit and life, and this expressed itself in a formal and organic unity in work and worship. It was "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," unity amid diversity, and compatible with the fullest liberty of development. There were "diversities of gifts but the same Spirit," "differences of administration but the same Lord," "diversities of operations," but "the same God which worketh all in all." "Two things stand out," says Dr. T. R. Glover, "when we study the character of early Christianity—its great complexity and variety, and its unity in the personality of Jesus of Nazareth." It was a purely ideal unity, dependent upon the belief of Christians everywhere that their Lord meant them to be one, and that love for Him involved it. It was guarded by no ecclesiastical hierarchy; it knew no compulsion but that of the Spirit. In the pilgrimage of the Christian community through the centuries, we have lost the precious secret of Christian unity possessed by the first disciples of our Lord, and it may be that we must retrace our steps to the place where we lost it to recover it again.

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III

The type of unity which characterized the early Church did not continue. The Church had hardly started upon its career before elements of division and dissent appeared. Forced to contend, on the one hand, with the consequences of a growing popularity which swept into it many who were imperfectly weaned from paganism and who brought with them their pagan ideas and ceremonies, and, on the other, with the current philosophies of the Græco-Roman world and perversions of Christian teaching of which these were the source, the leaders of the Church felt impelled to secure an authoritative interpretation of truth which might serve as a test of orthodoxy and which they could oppose to these errors, particularly to Gnosticism, the most formidable of them. The first Christians had depended upon the living Spirit to lead them to knowledge of the truth, but now increasing dependence was placed upon the elders and bishops of the Church who, as successors of the Apostles, were regarded as the spokesmen of the Spirit and were declared to be the authoritative guardians of the true gospel. So a

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mutual love and a sense of a common mission and allegiance were gradually abandoned as the bond of unity for dependence upon a rigid form of Church government and authoritative councils of bishops.

Several generations passed before the developed organization of One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church made possible the promulgation of doctrinal standards as the basis of Church fellowship. From that time forward unity was more and more secured by the simple method of excluding all who differed from the ruling majority, until the Church was formally united, indeed, but had ceased to be comprehensive. Orthodoxy was identified with submission to the councils and heresy with dissent. Faith tended to lose its experimental, vital significance and to become intellectual assent to dogma; while the simple ordinances observed by the early Church developed into elaborate ceremonies. Where moral suasion failed to secure adherence, force was substituted and individual liberty was sacrificed upon the altar of authority.

During the early centuries of Christian history, dissent and defection from the dominant Church was constant on the part of successive bodies of believers who rebelled against what they thought to be its dogmatism and despotism.

The most notable of these "heretical" movements during the first five centuries originated in differences of interpretation as to the relation of the divine and the human in the person of Christ. Among the rejected doctrines may be mentioned Arianism, whose adherents maintained a separate identity for four hundred years. During this period, also, as we have seen, the Church was racked and torn by controversy with Eutychians, Apollinarians, Nestorians, Monophysites, and Monothelites, who held among them almost every possible estimate of the person of Christ except that which was officially declared by the Councils of the Church to be correct, and two of these sects, the Nestorians and the Monophysites, continue as separate churches in the East to our own day. Many of the occasions, also, which drove multitudes out of the Church or caused them to withdraw from it grew out of demands of dissenting minorities for a stricter moral discipline, or for a more democratic church government, or for a return to what they deemed to be the ideals and practices of the apostles. Hippolytus, Felicissimus, Novatus, Donatus and their followers maintained their principles at the cost of exile, imprisonment or death.

The great schism occurred in the eleventh century, when Pope Leo IX and the patriarch Cerularius, of Constantinople, mutually excommunicated one another as heretical, and West and East divided into Roman and Orthodox, the communions which we know to-day as the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. But neither of these branches of Catholicism could suppress disagreement and division. Catholicism and dissent travelled side by side through the centuries.

Thus we observe that the beginning of the age of Catholicism marked the beginning of sectarianism through the perpetual protest of successive groups of Christians of whom it may be said in general that they resisted what they believed to be the drift of the leaders of the Church away from the doctrines and spirit of primitive Christianity.

IV

At length, after the so-called Dark Ages, when so many conflicting impulses struggled for dominance, came the Renaissance and the Reformation, not only awakening the minds of men to a new appreciation of their heritage in art and literature, so long neglected, but setting a new spiritual ferment at work in the hearts of men and rousing them to claim afresh those spiritual rights and liberties which were the birthright of the early Church. The new learning stimulated the spirit of criticism; the new nationalism stirred the spirit of revolt; and access to the Scriptures in the vernacular and the rediscovery of the Gospel kindled again the embers of the apostolic faith in the hearts of thousands. It is not remarkable that the Reformation, with the proclamation of the spiritual competence of the individual soul and its right and power of direct approach to God through Christ without the mediation of priest or saint or institution, should have shattered in pieces the formal unity of the Church.

Released from the sway of an authoritative dogma, and free to interpret the Scriptures under the guidance of reason, it is not strange, further, that, as interpretations differed, men formed new alignments and drew apart from one another in separate Christian communions. They rallied about strong leaders expressing varying conceptions of Christian doctrine.

Upon the European continent two great movements, looking

respectively to Luther and Zwingli as their founders, divided Protestantism into two branches, the Lutheran and the Reformed churches. Side by side with these were groups of a more radical sort, such as the Anabaptists, the Socinians and the Mystics. In England, the new leaven, working among a people of quite different tradition and temper, modified the Church of England and produced in course of time the communions that we know as Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Quakers. The Wesleyans, or Methodists, were to come later as the product of a reformation within the reformed churches. All of these branches of Protestantism in course of time found a home in America, and in the United States, where the process of division has proceeded farthest, we may distinguish Protestant bodies, large and small, of almost one hundred and fifty varieties.

Thus was created, in its main outlines, the situation in which a divided Christendom finds itself in our own time. The benefits of religious freedom, won throughout the English-speaking world by immeasurable sacrifice and heroic struggle, are incalculable. There is no imaginable gain that could now compensate for the loss of them. But every new movement suffers from the defects of its qualities and, measured by the Christian centuries, Protestantism is still young. There is no more urgent task confronting Christendom to-day than that of discovering a remedy for the defects of Protestantism without the sacrifice of its values.

It must surely be admitted that its individualism, which is the source of the strength of Protestantism, has entailed disabilities which are a source of weakness. Its record is not free from the vagaries and excesses that spring from the exercise of an unbalanced or uneducated private judgment, dissension between religious factions, persecutions and martyrdoms, or the imposition of civil penalties upon religious minorities. The failure to take counsel together and to co-operate in the great tasks of the Kingdom of God has often hampered the efficiency of Protestantism, and both by the duplication of institutions and agencies, particularly in frontier and rural communities, and by the failure to enter needy fields, its resources have suffered waste or its opportunities of service have been curtailed. To cite a single example, in a recent religious

survey of the State of Colorado "one hundred and thirty-three communities were found ranging in population from one hundred and fifty to one hundred thousand souls, without Protestant churches of any kind, one hundred of them being also without a Roman Catholic Church. . . . In addition to these there were four hundred and twenty-eight towns large enough to have post-offices, but without any churches, and whole counties were discovered without any adequate religious service." The trumpet has often given an uncertain sound, moreover, because of divided counsels, when it has summoned the Protestant army to war against entrenched evils in political, social and industrial life; and the influence of the Church in great moral issues has often been impaired, or even nullified, because it could not speak with a united voice.

The introduction of distinctive denominational principles into missionary lands, where the historic causes in which they originated are without significance, has weakened the influence of Christianity upon non-Christian peoples by the division of its forces and by its failure to exemplify Christian brotherhood. Bishop Thoburn of India tells of the dismayed amusement with which he heard an almost naked native Hindu declare that he was "a Scotch Presbyterian" ! "What is the answer ?" asks a friend of the missionary enterprise, "to the Japanese nobleman crossing the public square of Tokio, who, urged to become a Christian, sweeps his hand about the square, where a score or more missionary agencies have their homes, and asks, 'Which Christianity ?'"

Among the serious results of the divisions of Christendom, moreover, is the limitation of Christian fellowship in the pursuit of truth. Each of the various elements of temperament, tradition and spiritual experience within the Christian commonwealth has a contribution to make, and each contribution is partial, for, as the apostle Paul long ago declared, the breadth, and length, and depth and height of the love of Christ can only be comprehended "with all the saints."

It is from such difficulties and disabilities that there arises the danger of a decline of that leadership in the diffusion of the spirit of brotherhood in all human relations and among all races and nations which requires for its full efficiency that the Church shall itself incarnate that spirit and speak with the weight and power of a united testimony.

VI

Among the most encouraging and hopeful signs of our time, therefore, is the drawing together of the divisions of Christendom within a new spiritual fellowship. The tide has ebbed and flowed through the years, but every decade within the last century has witnessed a distinct advance.

Even in the period of its bitterest contentions, the Church has not lacked for prophetic souls whose voices have been raised in the interest of brotherhood and unity. During the years immediately succeeding the Reformation earnest efforts were put forth by representatives of both sides of the controversy to heal the schism between the Protestants and Catholics, until the codification of Catholic doctrine and law in the Council of Trent seemed to dismiss the hope of any compromise or concession on the part of the Roman Church. Among early Protestant leaders Zwingli and Melanchthon were of a conspicuously ironic spirit, and John Calvin, though of sterner stuff, wrote to Bishop Cranmer of England, "I should not hesitate to cross ten seas, if by this means holy communion might prevail among the members of Christ." Later John Milton exerted his powerful influence in the interest of Christian fraternity, and John Wesley the evangelist, Jeremy Taylor the preacher, and John Locke the philosopher were, in turn, advocates of the same great cause. But meanwhile an aggressive sectarianism in practice was widening the breaches that kept the churches apart.

As the lapse of time, however, has removed the sundered churches from the occasions out of which their differences arose, controversy has become more mild and the sharp edges of distinctive doctrines have been blurred, until, in our own day, in many instances, they have melted into one another. The phrase of Edward Miall, so scornfully gibbeted by Matthew Arnold, "the Dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion," is no longer descriptive. Irenics have gradually been substituted for polemics. We are emerging into a kindlier day. The spectacle of the evils and losses of isolation or competition has evoked a determination on the part of Christians of different denominations to understand one another and to work together, and there has been awakened a desire for a more intimate spiritual unity so deep and widespread that its consummation, in one form or another, cannot

be for ever denied. Earnest men of every communion and in every land in increasing numbers are giving themselves wholeheartedly to a "ministry of reconciliation."

As to the means by which such spiritual unity may best be fostered and the form which it should take, there are as many opinions within Christendom as among statesmen with regard to the political unification of the world. On the one side are those political leaders who are frankly unwilling that their country should participate in any association or league of nations on the ground that it would inevitably tend to become a "super-State" and restrict the liberty or sovereignty of the constituent peoples, and that the best contribution that their nation can make to the family of nations can be made from the outside. On the other are those who believe that the existing League of Nations is undesirable because it does not go far enough and, indeed, in proportion as it satisfies its adherents, may become a positive hindrance to attainment of the only end really to be desired, the organization of the Great Society, the "federation of the world," in which all nations shall merge their identity. Between these extremes are those who believe that nations should immediately co-operate as closely and widely as possible, through any form of association which is available, and that such co-operation is the surest and quickest road, through the educational development of acquaintance, mutual appreciation and good-will, to whatever forms of closer and integral union the future may have in store.

So it must be admitted that there are also those to whom no form of organic church union seems wise or possible. That fellowship of inward spirit which now exists in a large degree, and which, by wise measures, may be increased, they believe to be all that is desirable, and the existence of separate, autonomous churches, each making its own peculiar contribution to the common life, and working side by side with others for the same great ends, they regard as natural and wholesome. They visualize their ideal in some such figure as that of Professor Nicholas Glubokoswky, of Leningrad, quoted by Archbishop Soderblom, of Sweden—the picture of a Russian house, divided by low walls into several rooms. Thus living in separate compartments, each of which is a home to a family, beloved and familiar, each group maintains a separate existence. But above there are no dividing walls, and men may communicate

and live together in neighbourly fashion. "Do not move the walls. But let us all grow in faith, hope and love, so that we reach above the divisions and see and show our membership of the same Church and congregation of Christ."

There is, however, a growing company of Christians who are convinced that denominationalism, as we have known it, must be radically transformed or supplanted if Christendom is to meet the needs of a new day, and that the sentiment of spiritual unity requires some visible and organized expression, both for its own maintenance within the churches, and for its propagation in secular avenues in the larger world of human relations.

To some of these, organic union is the immediate and most urgent object of Christian aspiration and effort, and for it they see no alternative. Federation is to be deprecated as tending to satisfy those who have achieved it with an inferior good that may obscure God's will for His Church. Only through the visible, organic union of all Christians, they believe, can the prayer of the Lord of the Church, that His disciples might be one, be fulfilled. Further, they believe that if this is necessary it must be possible, and that if it is a part of the divine purpose, it is inevitable.

Still others labour rather to perfect forms of federative and co-operative union, to which the participating communions, maintaining their own autonomy, may delegate certain responsibilities and powers, and through which all may work together in the common enterprise of the Kingdom of God. They adopt this policy in the conviction that, whatever more formal union may be possible or desirable in the future, such co-operation alone can create the mutual sympathy, appreciation and understanding that are needed to prepare the way for it.

During the last half-century both these movements, toward organic and toward federal union, have progressed at a steadily accelerating pace.

The initial steps toward organic reunion have been taken in many parts of the world and, in some instances, it has actually been achieved, both by separate branches of the same communion and by distinct denominations. A tendency widespread and growing may be illustrated from the history of a single denomination. The Old School and New School Presbyterians united fifty years ago, as did also four divisions of Presbyterians in Canada and the Pres-

byterian and United Presbyterian Churches in England. In 1900 the United Free Church of Scotland was formed to include the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches of that country, and almost simultaneously six Presbyterian communions in Australia and two in New Zealand came harmoniously together. In the United States, Northern Baptists and Free Baptists have been united within the last ten years; three of the separate Lutheran synods have formed the United Lutheran Church; and very recently the General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South have adopted a plan of unification and have submitted it to the ministry and the laity of their respective churches.

From South Africa we hear of attempts of Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians to form a closer union; and from Australia of similar efforts on the part of the same denominations, though the prospect of success in this instance appears to be remote.

The most notable example of such union between distinct communions already achieved is that of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches of Canada. The plan for this union was ratified by each of the three denominations in 1924, and legislation was at once initiated to bring it into being. The course of twenty years of discussion, negotiation and successive proposals for the solution of the intricate problems involved, both doctrinal and practical, is full of interest and instruction to the advocates of the organic union of Christendom. While the Anglican and Baptist communions found themselves unable to participate, and it appears to have involved the secession of a minority of the Presbyterians, the organization of the United Church of Canada is to be hailed as an extraordinary achievement and full of promise, unexampled in Christian history. Anticipating this union, co-operation between the churches has been practised for years in very many communities with a view to the maintenance of a single church of one of the participant denominations under the constitution proposed for the United Church, so that before the union was consummated there were already 1,245 congregations of this character, combining 3,700 congregations of the old order. Thus great material and spiritual resources have been released for active ministration elsewhere, and scores of pastors have been made available for service in other places.

VII

It is when we survey the missionary field, however, that we see the most striking evidences of the new spirit of Christian unity. The noble ideal of the London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, and composed of Presbyterians, Independents and members of the Church of England, failed because it was too far in advance of its age. It declared its design to be "not to send Presbyterians, Episcopalians, or any form of church government (about which there may be differences of opinion among serious persons), but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen, and that it shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call to the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such forms of church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the word of God." Later, however, as the missionary enterprise grew in extent, the Church of England and the Presbyterians withdrew to form missionary organizations of their own.

But to-day, particularly where native leadership is being asserted, the spirit of co-operative effort is coming in like a flood. There are more than a score of educational institutions in China alone under inter-denominational control, including the five union colleges or universities in Peking, Nanking, Tsinan-fu, Chengtu and Foochow. The Christian colleges for women, such as those in Lucknow, Nanking, Peking, Madras and Tokio, are illustrations of the same nature. Even in theological education union has not been found impossible, as, for example, in such seminaries and training schools as those in Bangalore, Seoul, Nanking, Canton and Manila. The Severance Medical College and Hospital in Seoul, which is the centre for almost all the missions in southern Korea, and the medical school for women at Vellore, in South India, jointly supported by twelve British and American missionary boards, are instances of the same spirit applied to medical work. To an increasing extent the area of missionary activity is being divided among the organizations at work within them in spheres of special responsibility, as in the Philippines and in portions of China, India, Korea and Madagascar. Since the epoch-making World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, in 1910, rapid progress has also been made in providing comprehensive agencies in many lands for the promotion of

missionary work as, for example, in the National Christian Councils of China and Japan.

The prospect, moreover, of the attainment of organic union is more favourable among the missionary churches than in the home lands. In South Fukien Chinese Christians of Congregational Presbyterian and Reformed Missions are already merged into a single Church. The South India United Church, also, organized in 1908, combines the missionaries and indigenous churches of the British and the American Congregationalists, the Reformed Church of America, and the United Free Church (Presbyterian) of Scotland. "The Indian Christian," writes the Anglican Bishop of Madras, "wants a Church of his own. He wants to unite with his fellow-countrymen in worshipping Christ without being fenced in here and warned off there by 'foreign' differences which find no response in his own experience." Encouraging progress has been made in Southern India, in negotiations between the Anglicans and the South India United Church, toward the ideal of a union which shall include differing views, but in which none shall force the conscience of another.

It is in China that the need of union is most clearly seen, and that the largest measure of it has been achieved. At a meeting of the National Christian Council at Shanghai, in 1922, dominated by Chinese leaders, the Chinese Christians, in a notable statement, declared their regret that they were "divided by the denominationalism which comes from the West," and their conviction that it "has been and is a source of confusion, bewilderment and inefficiency." They appealed "to all those who love the same Lord to follow His command and be united into one Church, catholic and indivisible, for the salvation of China," and called upon "missionaries and representatives of the churches of the West, through self-sacrificial devotion to our Lord, to remove all the obstacles in order that Christ's prayer for unity may be fulfilled in China."

More recently a group of earnest Chinese Christian leaders gathered in Peking to prepare a communication to the missionary boards in Britain and America expressing once more their heartfelt desire for a united Chinese Church. It was suggested that a suitable watchword for such an endeavour for unity would be the words of Dr. Timothy Lew at the Shanghai Conference. "We

agree to differ; we resolve to love." But one of the group suggested an addition which made of it a statement that might serve as the motto of all throughout the world who labour for the union of Christendom: "We agree to differ; we resolve to love; we unite to serve."

"We confidently hope," says the manifesto of the Shanghai Conference, "that the Church of China thus united will be able to serve as an impetus to the speedy healing of the broken body of Christ in the West." It may well be that the movement toward unity in the homelands will be hastened by the contribution which the lands of the Orient are destined to make to it in the near future.

VIII

Nevertheless, we cannot be oblivious to the gravity of the obstacles that still hold Christians apart, grounded as they are in loyalties which have grown up about institutions that have long pursued their separate ways, distinctions in doctrine associated in the minds of those who hold them with a belief in their divine authority, and differences, even more divisive, as to the nature of the Church itself. Such difficulties every definite plan for the reunion of Christendom has been compelled to meet, and it is evident that the churches, with all the sentiment for Christian union that prevails so widely, must yet travel far to find common ground upon which to build a new Christian temple, so broad and inclusive that all Christians may worship God in it together.

The most famous plan ever advanced for the visible reunion of the whole body of Christ on earth is the so-called Chicago-Lambeth proposals, or Quadrilateral. It was first set forth by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, at Chicago, at its General Convention in 1886, and in 1888 was adopted and reissued with minor changes by the Conference of Bishops of the Anglican communion at Lambeth Palace, and reads as follows:

"That, in the opinion of this Conference, the following Articles supply a basis on which approach may be by God's blessing made toward Home Reunion:

"(a) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the rule and ultimate standard of Faith.

The Apostles' Creed, as the baptismal symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith.

"(c) The two sacraments ordained by Christ himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—administered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

"(d) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church."

These proposals have called forth volumes of discussion, criticism and interpretation. They have been the basis of innumerable conferences between representatives of the Anglican communion and other Christian bodies in many parts of the world, over a series of years, notably between a Committee appointed by the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches of England and a Continuation Committee of the Lambeth Conference, which have undoubtedly served to promote mutual appreciation and a clearer understanding of the nature of the obstacles which keep the churches apart.

Upon the first of these proposals there is general agreement. As to the second, it is questioned, in some quarters, why, if the Scriptures are admitted to be the rule and ultimate standard of faith, there is any need of another formula, and, in particular, one which, like the Nicene Creed, bears so plainly the impress of the ancient controversies of the age out of which it sprang, and, dealing only with theology, has no word to say of the Christian way of life.

The discussion of the Quadrilateral has centred, for the most part, however, upon the last of its Articles, the acceptance of the "historic episcopate." If this involved merely a mode of church administration it would probably meet with little serious objection. Even those attached to a more democratic polity would prefer hierarchy to anarchy. But in the minds of those who advance the proposal it is associated with the dogma of "apostolic succession," which makes the Church to depend upon a valid administration of the sacraments and this to rest, in turn, upon a theory of the Church and its ministry which a large part of Protestantism rejects. It is evident that the most formidable barrier to Christian union does not run vertically, between denominations, but horizontally, through many communions.

There are those in more than one communion who believe themselves to be associated in fellowship with Christ by and through a Church founded, as they hold, by Him, and authorized to exercise its functions on His behalf for the benefit of the entire Kingdom. To such the validity of the orders of the ministry and its authority to administer the sacraments depends upon the perpetuation in the Church of the commission given by Christ to the apostles and transmitted by them to the first bishops of the Church, and thence in succession through an unbroken chain of bishops, by the laying on of hands, to the present day. The bishops, according to this conception, to whom have come the full authority and ministry of the Word and Sacraments, have sole authority to ordain the other ministers of the Church.

On the other hand, there are multitudes of Christians, composing in some instances entire denominations, who believe they are directly associated in fellowship with Jesus Christ, without the necessary mediation of Church or bishop. The Church, whether it is believed to be directly founded by Christ or not, to such "is simply the voluntary association for mutual help and service of the world by those who have been saved." Their emphasis is upon the Gospel and not upon the Church, and it is there that they find their authority. Ordination is the formal recognition on the part of a company of believers that the candidate has been called of God to preach the Gospel, and authorizes him to perform his ministry within the constituency for which the ordaining body speaks. It is conceived as in no sense conferring grace, but merely as the recognition of a gift already bestowed by God.

These apparently incompatible views of the Church and the ministry constitute the crux of the proposal of Christian union on the basis of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. The continued and kindly discussion of the years has not appreciably brought together the extremes of these positions. The suspicion has persisted that the re-ordination at the hands of a bishop of the Anglican or Episcopal churches, which this proposal would require, would discredit the credentials of other churches or of their ministry, even though they should possess abundant evidence of the blessing of God upon their labours.

In the course of the discussion the attitude of the bishops of the Lambeth Conference has been most irenic. A Memorandum of the

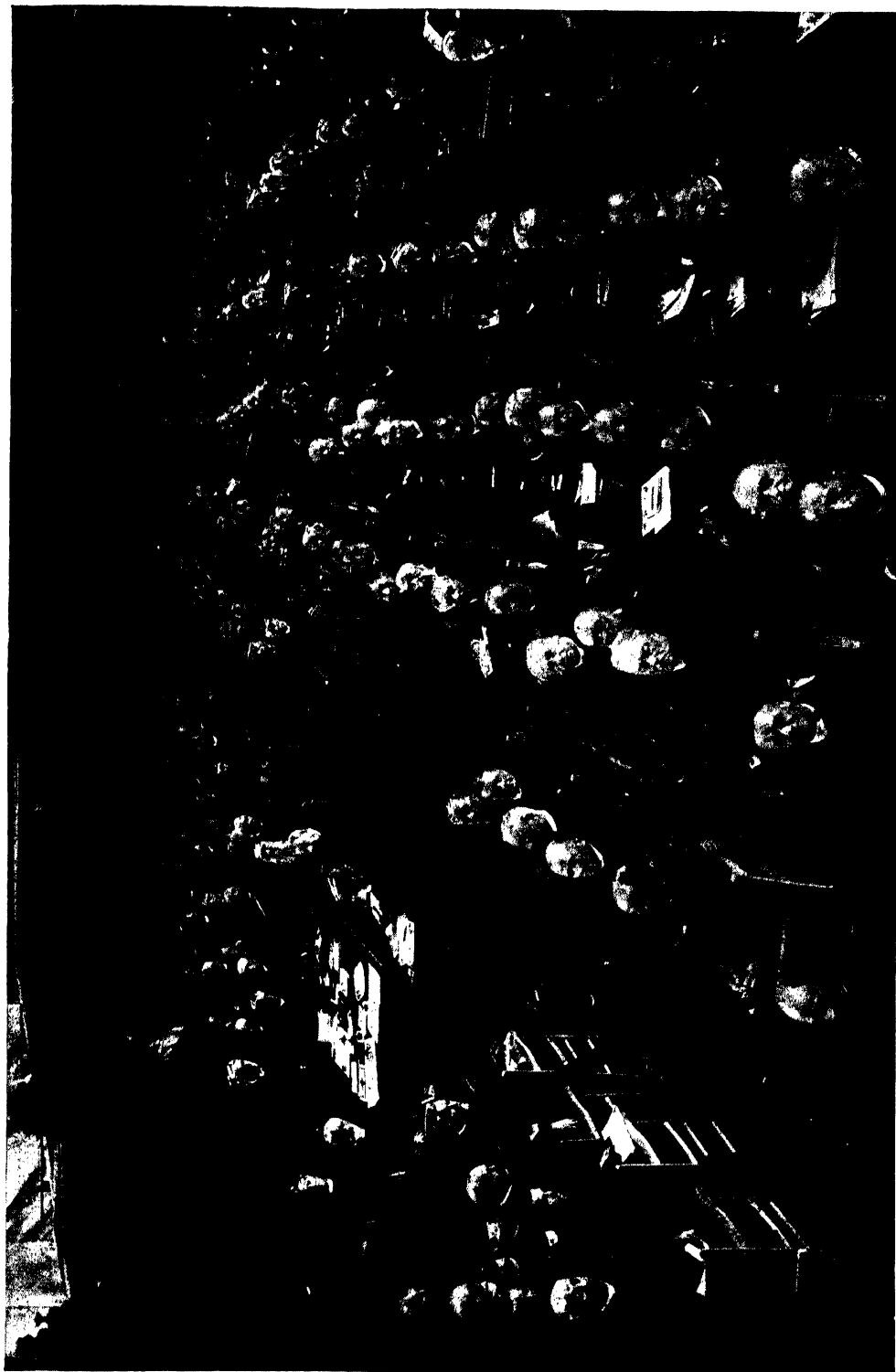
Church of England, issued in 1923, declared that "Ministries which imply a sincere intention to preach Christ's Word and administer the Sacraments as Christ has ordained, and to which authority so to do has been solemnly given by the Church concerned, are real ministries of Christ's Word and Sacraments in the Universal Church." In an "Appeal to All Christian People," issued by the bishops of the Lambeth Conference in 1920, they declared that, "if the authorities of other Communion should so desire," they were "persuaded that, terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, Bishops and clergy of our Communion would willingly accept from these authorities a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations"; and continued, "It is our hope that the same motive would lead ministers who have not received it to accept a commission through episcopal ordination, as obtaining for them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship." Such an exchange of commissions or ordinations as this statement contemplates was definitely proposed in the United States in the so-called "Concordat" in 1919, signed by ten leaders of the Congregational and Protestant Episcopal Churches, and it received favourable consideration at the meeting of the General Convention of the latter communion in the following year; but the proposal has not as yet been put into effect, nor has the suggestion of such an arrangement been received with wide favour by other bodies of Christians. The fact that the non-episcopal churches already recognize the ministry of the Anglican communion to be as valid as their own seems to them, in general, to make such additional "commission or recognition" unnecessary, and the reluctance, on their part, to admit the need or the admissibility of any sort of re-ordination, supplementary ordination or joint ordination remains. This is of as conscientious a nature as is the conviction of those who advance the proposal and deem it to be essential; and these diverse conceptions of the nature and function of the Church constitute, perhaps, the most serious obstacle with which the cause of organic Church union must contend.

Where differences of so fundamental a nature do not prevail, however, union based upon a mutual recognition of the validity of ministerial orders is already possible. On such a basis negotiations are pending by which the six million members of the Swedish Lutheran Church may come into fellowship with the millions of

the Anglican Church and, as a consequence, two Anglican bishops lately participated in the ordination of two bishops of the Swedish communion. Since the Patriarchate and Holy Synod of Constantinople, in 1922, recognized the validity of Anglican orders, such interchange of ordaining bishops is now possible, also, between the Eastern Orthodox and Anglican Churches. Thus three great churches have come into close affiliation with one another, upon a basis in accord with the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

The prospect of the discovery of any common ground upon which the Roman Catholic Church may stand with other bodies of Christians seems to be as remote as ever. There is no ecclesiastical fellowship between the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. "It might seem," writes Archbishop Platon, of the Greek Church, "that no Church is closer to the Orthodox than is the Roman Catholic. Chief among its resemblances, the two have the same number of sacraments; yet the distance between them is so great as to terrify us; it is almost immeasurable."

Some years ago Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore, stated in specific terms what has been the consistent attitude of the papacy toward Protestantism. "The reunion of the scattered branches of Christendom," he said, "is a consummation devoutly to be wished, and I would gladly sacrifice the remaining years of my life in lending a helping hand toward this blessed result." But he proceeded to say: "The first essential requirement is the recognition of the sovereign pontiff, who as the successor of St. Peter is the divinely appointed head of Christendom." Bishop Bonomelli, of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Cremona, has more recently declared, "To feel the necessity, and to seek the ways, of gathering together the scattered members of Christ is a surpassingly noble and beautiful aim, and worthy to be studied and translated into action with all zeal; and it is very consoling to see how our Protestant brothers are striving for this end with evident sincerity and thorough good-will. I cannot, however," he continues, "shut my eyes to the very grave difficulty of the enterprise; first of all, the situation of the Roman Church, which cannot recede from its position, or yield upon any essential point of its doctrine, without being renegade to itself. The Roman Church, with its definitions, with the affirmations repeated a thousand times of its divine character, and with all the acts of





THE HOLY FAMILY.

By ANTHONY VAN DYCK.

its government, has cut down and is cutting down every bridge behind it. It can well allow itself to be joined by the dissident churches with unconditioned submission; but it cannot turn back, review its own decisions, modify its dogmas, change its hierarchy, lessen its authority. . . . And in this, I believe, consists the greatest obstacle to that unity, the need of which is so deeply felt."

IX

Meanwhile, as the pursuit of organic union proceeds upon its chequered course, the churches are making hopeful progress in the achievement of practical unity through co-operation in specific Christian undertakings.

Whatever may be the hindrances in the way of uniting a divergent ecclesiasticism within a single fold, there is a fund of spiritual energy and a common Christian consciousness immediately available, under prophetic leadership, sufficient to unite all Christians in one visible fellowship in the region of moral and social questions, and to enable them to begin at once to act together as one body in Christ for the promotion of human brotherhood. That this is possible upon a plan so large as to make it effective upon a world scale may be concluded from the manifold forms of practical co-operation in which Christians of many lands are already associated.

It may be that the shortest road to organic union will be found by such an indirect approach as the consideration of the problem as to how the churches of the world may bring about a fuller application of the Christian Gospel in modern life. The Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held in England in 1924, was attended by delegates from many lands, but the Universal Conference which met at Stockholm, in 1925, drew upon a wider constituency and had a more ambitious aim.

The larger Protestant denominations have achieved a world fellowship within the limits of their own ranks. Thus the Presbyterians have their World Alliance of the Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System, which has been meeting since 1877, and the Baptists their Baptist World Alliance, organized in 1905. The Lutheran World Convention, which met in 1923, was a truly representative gathering from twenty-two nations. The Œcumenical Methodist Conference has held its sessions since 1881, and in 1921 there were represented the churches of the Methodist order in all

parts of the world. Similarly the International Congregational Council, since 1891, has bound together the members of that communion, while the Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, which has met at intervals since 1867 at Lambeth, has not only drawn together the members of its own fellowship but has led the way, courageously and persistently, in the promotion of organic Christian union. All these great associations of the like-minded, though meeting apart from one another, have contributed to the building of an international consciousness and have helped to lay the foundations of human fraternity.

We have no space to delineate the forms which the federal union of churches of many names have taken in the various countries in which they exist, but merely note that Federal Councils of Churches are now established in the United States, England, Germany, France, Switzerland, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, Australia, Japan and China. These federations not only unite the Christian forces for service within their own nations but exert an influence far beyond the boundaries of their own lands. They reach hands across national frontiers, and furnish an agency through which contacts may readily be made between Christians of many countries by correspondence, the exchange of visitations, and the initiation of co-operation in international undertakings of interest to Protestant Christendom as a whole. To cite a significant example, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America instituted, a few years ago, an inquiry as to the manner in which the American Churches might be of service to the Protestant Churches of Europe "in the reconstruction work made necessary through the effects of war, in the formation of new congregations, in the relief of needy churches, agencies and individuals." It was suggested that aid might be rendered in the development of training institutions for ministers and social workers, in evangelistic work in different countries, by making it possible for theological students and clergymen to study outside their own countries by means of free scholarships, by investigating the needs of religious minorities in European countries with a view to rendering assistance, and by assisting, if it were desired, in arranging for a conference of the European religious bodies to be held in Europe. The Swiss Protestant Federation, acting upon these suggestions, called a general conference of the European Churches in Denmark in 1922, which was known as

"The International Church Congress for Investigating the Situation of Protestantism in Europe," or, named from the Mission House in Copenhagen in which it met, more briefly, the "Bethesda Conference." The Conference included representatives of thirty-seven church bodies from twenty-one European nations. Here for the first time in history the Evangelical Churches of Europe were brought together in an official gathering, representative of European Protestantism. Out of it came the Central Bureau for Relief of the Evangelical Churches of Europe, with head-quarters at Zurich, which is directing a concerted effort for the aid of a great and suffering constituency. The initiation of this movement is one more milestone on the road toward interdenominational and international fellowship and suggests the vital and fundamental basis upon which it must be built, the appealing motives of mutual sympathy, an impelling need and a common task.

The record of the co-operative activities of the churches in the promotion of international fraternity and good-will would not be complete without the mention of the Church Peace Union, and, particularly, of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. The first of these provides a programme in which both Protestants and Roman Catholics find it possible to unite. Founded, and endowed with two million dollars by Andrew Carnegie in 1914, it has been active in the cause of international peace. The World Alliance was initiated by the Church Peace Union to bring the weight of all churches and Christians to bear upon the relations of governments and peoples for the spread of the spirit of peace and good-will and the substitution of arbitration for war, of friendship for suspicion and hatred, co-operation for ruinous competition, "and a spirit of service and sacrifice rather than that of greed and gain in all transactions between the nations." National Councils of the Alliance are established in practically every country of Europe and America. Its annual meetings have brought together leaders of the churches in many lands in the interest of its high ideals. The meeting of the Alliance at The Hague, immediately after the close of the World War, was the first occasion on which representative members of the churches of the Central Powers and of the allied nations met together in friendly intercourse with their brethren of the neutral peoples.

The influence of many organizations, world wide in their scope,

which owed their origin and inspiration to the Christian Church, might easily be overlooked or under-estimated in such a survey as this because it has been exercised continuously over so long a period. Thus the Young Men's Christian Association has spread throughout the globe and has exercised a pervasive influence for Christian democracy and inter-racial fellowship. In it are gathered men of all Christian communions cemented by a common purpose. Its success in reaching the educated leadership in many lands has been conspicuous, and, while it is not its direct aim to foster international friendship, it has done so effectively by inspiring with Christian ideals those who are fitted to promote good-will. Consider, for example, how potent and far-reaching must be the effect of international athletic events in South America, in the Far East and elsewhere which bring together young men of many lands in friendly competition. Particularly in the Orient, where athletes from Japan, China and the Philippine Islands have met together under Christian auspices, the results have been of inestimable worth. During the war vast sums of money were raised by the affiliated Associations, especially in the United States, and were expended to meet the needs of millions of young men bearing arms, and of other millions confined in the prison camps of all the belligerent nations, both allied and central. The Young Women's Christian Associations have performed a service of a like beneficent nature, in weaving enduring bonds of international good-will. A quarter of a century ago there was organized the World's Young Women's Christian Association in which national committees were affiliated, which has demonstrated that women of different nationalities, associated in a common cause, achieve a sense of fellowship which cannot be broken by differences of race, creed or custom. In a meeting held in Switzerland in 1920 women of various national Associations, British, French, German, Austrian, Japanese, American and others, gathered for the first time subsequent to the war, and voiced the sentiments of the inclusive Christian love which is needed to bridge the chasms caused by the great conflict and to reunite the world.

The World Christian Endeavour Union, also, for many years has bound together the young people of the churches in eighty-four affiliated organizations in as many lands. Its great world conventions, of which six have been held in widely scattered portions of the globe, from India to the United States, have brought together

representatives of all communions and many nationalities and races upon a broadly Christian platform and programme.

To these must be added the World Sunday School Association, which has attained a world-wide leadership, and through its quadrennial conventions and its secretarial force in many lands, has laboured for the improvement of methods and materials in Christian education, and the Salvation Army, which, from a local and provincial organization, has expanded with remarkable rapidity until it has become a potent international force for social and individual evangelization throughout the world.

The World's Student Christian Federation, organized in 1894, unites the students of Europe and America and of the Orient and the Occident in more than two thousand associations with a combined membership of about a quarter of a million. Through its conferences held in many countries students have not only been enlisted and trained for Christian work within their own lands, but have been led out into forms of ubiquitous service, for fellow-students abroad. During the war the Federation ministered to the prisoners of war of all the belligerents with remarkable devotion, the Friendship Fund of the men's and women's student movements in America alone raising almost four million dollars for this cause. Since the war the Federation has afforded relief to needy students in Europe and Asia Minor, furnishing food, clothing, books, housing, medical aid, opportunities for self-help, or help in repatriating more than a hundred thousand individuals in seventeen countries. This is the spirit of brotherhood, expressed in a very practical form, by those who are to be the educated leaders in days to come.

Most potent of all the influences for international unity is the missionary enterprise of the churches, always a pioneer in the manifestation of a spirit of Christian brotherhood that transcends the barriers of nationality, cast and colour. This has found, since 1920, a co-operative agency in the International Missionary Council, in which sixteen national missionary organizations, covering the whole world in their activities, meet for mutual consultation. Among the recorded objects of the Council is that of helping "to unite the Christian forces of the world in seeking justice in international and inter-racial relations," thus laying the only foundation upon which brotherhood can be established.

Such organizations as these are the instruments by which the

Christian Church is spinning over all the world an invisible web of spiritual fellowship, whose radiating threads, vibrating to the heart-beat of humanity, are linking together the diverse elements of race and nationality.

All this is being done despite the absence of visible organic unity, and it leaves that problem unsolved. The results of the co-operation of the churches, however, in the practical service of mankind and the promotion of human brotherhood, reveal the direction in which may most hopefully be sought whatever forms of closer organic unity the future may find possible and desirable.

It is scarcely likely that the unity of all Christians will ever be achieved upon a basis of identity of credal formula, or of identity of church organization. It is hardly to be expected that, with all the differences of temperament, experience and spiritual inheritance which distinguish the followers of Christ, all will ever interpret alike the concepts of the faith. Indeed, the sacrifice of conscientious convictions would be too high a price to pay, even for unity. But though the processes of the intellect divide, the impulses that rise from the affections and the will draw men together. Multitudes of Christian men in all communions are saying to-day, as John Wesley said in 1742, "Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thee? I ask no further question. If it be, give me thy hand. For opinion, or terms, let us not destroy the work of God. Dost thou love and serve God? It is enough. I give thee the right hand of fellowship." If we would find a bond sufficiently strong to hold together all Christians in a single fellowship we must seek it where the Christians of the first century found the secret of their unity, in a common allegiance to the one Lord of the Church and devotion to the cause of his Kingdom on earth.

The attainment of organic unity waits upon the growth of a deeper, broader, more catholic spirit in all the churches, and we have already a fund of experience sufficient to demonstrate that nothing will so powerfully promote such a spirit as co-operation in practical tasks. Christian men will unite in a programme of service to humanity who are wide apart on questions of doctrine and church polity, and in proportion as they do so they will come to see more closely eye to eye in the matters with regard to which they are now

in disagreement. Communions which lack the historic sense and perspective have much to learn from those which have maintained their continuity with the past; and these, in turn, may profit by association with those that have swung farthest from the traditional practices of the Church in bygone ages. Mutual understanding and appreciation are the fruit of such association. The more the churches work together to bridge the chasms of prejudice and suspicion between men and nations riven by the heat of contention or rivalry, the more quickly will the gulfs which divide them from each other be spanned.

The Universal Church that shall some day gather into one fold all the Christians of the world will not, it is likely, be identical with any one of the churches now existing. Each of these has its serious limitations. No one of them is fitted to minister to every type of spiritual temperament and experience. None fully represents its Lord. Yet each has its peculiar contribution to make to the enrichment of the Christian heritage. It is by the method of comprehension rather than by that of selection that true catholicity is secured. As at Easter time, in some cathedral of the East, there is set a great vase into which the worshippers, as they pass, cast their precious possessions—a richly embroidered garment, some valued heirloom or costly jewel—so to the Church of the future there must be brought all the consecrated treasures of all the churches for its endowment.

The Church that is to come will be not only rich in the varied gifts of those who worship in it, but roomy, capacious enough to include within its fold the widest differences of religious conviction and observance. Its doors will face to east and west and north and south and will be ever open to all who profess the purpose of its Lord. "For the Church to require more than Christ Himself did," wrote Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, in the seventeenth century, "or to make the condition of her communion more than our Saviour did of discipleship, is wholly unwarranted." The unity, therefore, toward which we aspire, will be unity with diversity, like that of a great tree, "far apart in the spreading branches, knit together in the sturdy trunk."

The necessity of such unity is the supreme challenge, which, like a trumpet call, summons the disciples of the Christ in our modern day. The world's need of brotherhood, founded in faith in the

divine Fatherhood and informed and guided by the spirit of Jesus Christ, the Elder Brother of the human race, furnishes an appeal to which the churches must respond or prove recreant to their allegiance to their Lord. If those who follow Christ are to lead in the great movement of the human spirit toward fraternity, as they ought to lead, they must themselves be united as brethren, and fall in and march together as a single company under His command. As at the call of Peter the Hermit men laid aside their private disagreements and united in the great Crusade to regain the tomb of their Master, so must this worthier and more hopeful enterprise of establishing the living sovereignty of the loving Christ over all mankind compel the loyalty of Christian men to-day.

Perplexities as to method and procedure that still remain must not be permitted to slow the march or obstruct the road. Love will find a way. Dr. J. H. Jowett once said, when unity was being discussed, that Christians would all find unity when they were so consumed with a holy passion for Jesus Christ that they could not even remember the things that divided them. Though the churches cannot be frozen together by the cold processes of logic, they may be welded together by the fusing influence of the spirit of Christian love. Some day the various Christian communions will be lifted over the obstructions that keep them apart, exalted by a burning, passionate enthusiasm for Christ and humanity. They will find themselves one, though they could not make themselves so, as the separate pools on the seashore are merged in one another when the ocean tide comes in at the flood.

BOOK VI

CIVILIZATION AND THE WAY OF LIFE

Looking back over the wide expanse of our civilization we may now endeavour to review the characteristics of Christianity as theory and as practice—as a philosophy and as a way of life. As a philosophy it represents the utmost to which the human mind can attain. As a way of life it sets before men the ultimate ideal of human conduct.

Chapter XXIX. CHRISTIANITY AS A PHILOSOPHY
OF CIVILIZATION

XXX. CHRISTIANITY AS A WAY OF
LIFE

CHAPTER XXIX

CHRISTIANITY AS A PHILOSOPHY OF CIVILIZATION

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM L. SULLIVAN, D.D.

Christianity alone can give to civilization an enduring character because the genius of this faith defies all discouragement. Centred in a Person, it dignifies the value of personality; expressed in a community, it asserts the worth of society. An historical religion, it insists on the reality of all that belongs to history. A religion with supernatural claims, it finds the fulfilment of history in the eternal world.

“**P**HILOSOPHY of Civilization” is a large and loose phrase which has led into astonishing aberrations three classes of persons who have attempted to expound it. In the first place there have been philosophers, and occasionally theologians, who have imagined that a Philosophy of Civilization gives them indefinite permission to crush objective history into the forms of their subjective system. Their error obviously consists in forgetting that a philosophy of history must find its material *in* history; and that however profound a thinker’s commentary upon historical fact may be, his chief concern is to bring this fact into clearer light, not to obscure it by the splendour of his commentary.

In the second place, there have been historians who have possessed an excellent knowledge of the data of history but a very imperfect understanding of the spirit of man which creates history. Their attempt at a world-view of human society in consequence will be infected with the inadequacy of their premises. They will forget evil, though history is full of it, and rest the story of man upon sentimental optimism; or they will disregard aspiration, though history is illuminated by it, and deliver us to a mechanistic pessimism; or they will seize upon one of the half-truths which conceals the whole truth and make economic interest, or military power, or the qualities of a race, the key to a comprehension of the past and to a discernment of the future. Purposeful and creative life is not to be kept in any of these pockets, and the human spirit

is forever disconcerting the men who mistake its partial expressions and transient phrases for its rich and essential wholeness.

Finally there are the precipitate souls, little disciplined by either philosophy or history, who fancy that lecturing men on what they ought to do or declaiming to an age on what it ought to be, or painting pictures of an automatic beatitude which is soon to dawn upon the plains of Time, constitutes a philosophy of history. It constitutes, however, we are bound to say, nothing at all but homiletics and mythology; and upon such pretensions we have no time to spend.

What then is a philosophy of civilization, and what do we mean by saying that Christianity is or contains a body of principles and values demanded by such a philosophy? Whatever else philosophy may be, this it is pre-eminently, the study not of a partial aspect but of the whole significance of a thing. Philosophy seeks the unity that underlies plurality, the real behind the apparent, the law and meaning beyond the happening, the central truth which makes all peripheral truths coherent and fully intelligible. A man may believe, if he wishes to hold an extravagant opinion, that in this tremendous search philosophy has generally and forlornly failed; but at all events that search is philosophy's business, that purpose the reason of its dignity and value.

A philosophy of civilization then will lead us to history, the only place where we can find civilization; and after we have studied the human experience there recorded, will conduct us to constructive reflection upon the meaning and end of the historic process. Through the historical to the philosophical or super-historical, losing sight of neither on the way, is the method of a philosophy of history. And if we make this difficult journey with any success at all, we shall have gained something of an answer to many questions, but chiefly to these: What values and standards are revealed in history that will help us to understand what mankind as a whole is or should be, and by what ends and purposes validated in history should we be guided in our corporate life, effort, and experiment?

When in these great inquiries we find firm ground beneath our feet—if we are so fortunate—then and only then shall we turn to Christianity to see whether our religion is not the deepest teacher and the surest safeguard of the good which history has disclosed to our analysis. We should not, that is to say, begin with Christianity and thence convey edifying admonitions to history. This would, I

am sure, be false method; since before we can know whether Christianity is the noblest philosophy of civilization we must have informed ourselves what a philosophy of civilization in general results in and brings to light. With these findings in our hands we can proceed, not in a homiletic but in a scientific manner, to examine how Christianity expands and protects the highest purposes and principles discerned by man in his historic experience.

It would be useful—only space forbids—to review the efforts of the thinkers who have travelled in this road. It would be chastening also to reflect how many of them have lost their way. But we cannot linger over either the instruction or the warning of their example. So we must pass over with a mere mention, Hegel who taught that history is the World-Spirit's unceasing externalizing of itself in men and institutions; Marx who reduced the strife of souls to a strife of classes and made our customary ideals only devices of the bourgeois to enslave the proletariat; Nietzsche who made these same ideals inventions of both bourgeois and proletariat to enslave the aristocrat; the French and British positivists who held up to men, happily delivered from theology, the thrilling hope of indefinite progress; Schopenhauer who despised this progress as one of the delusions that tempt us to insatiable desire and inevitable frustration, and proposed extinction as the one sure good for senselessly striving humanity; and Spengler who scoffs at formulas and schools, and declares that civilizations grow and die as organisms do, and that neither science nor philosophy can change the fate that produces and destroys them.

Leaving these tempting names and systems, we come to the heart of our subject, and ask what we can deduce from the wild and turbid mass of experience that we call history.

History in the first place fully warrants this conclusion: (1) *That men live as though life were worth living: and upon this instinctive conviction civilization ultimately rests.* Simple as this inference is, its importance is immense. For it implies that every philosophy which is sceptical or pessimistic regarding the chief source of our vital powers and the loyalties which feed them is to that extent a threat to civilization. It exposes the danger and debility of decadent sophistication. It is not merely a moral but an historical principle, that one who does not manfully accept life feebly accepts death. A philosophy of the weak is a philosophy of the lost.

We observe again in history that civilized humanity is restless in

the present and bent upon making the future different. Man is a creature driven from within. Sometimes he is driven to fighting and domination, again to study and reflection, yet again to efforts for liberty, for religion, for new institutions. But whatever the end may be, good or bad, the source of energy is always the same—his passion for impressing upon the world of things the stamp of his world of desires, ambitions, ideals. From this fact we seem justified in deducing: (2) *That civilization is man's effort to make his outer circumstance more fully correspond with his inner life; hence the inner life of an age will chiefly determine the qualities of its civilization.*

This reminds us of the momentous truth that all the visible proceeds from the invisible. Literatures, philosophies, institutions are ideas embodied, with the idea always preceding the embodiment and never perfectly reproduced in it. Campaigns, migrations, pictures, statues, cathedrals are results, and we see them; but human motives, ideals, aspirations are the causes, and we can never see them. "All history is a history of spirit" is a true word of Harnack.

We are still in the region of clearly warranted reasoning and quite in touch with history, our constant guide, when we add: (3) *That since the human spirit is subject to error and misleading, the first concern of civilization should be to safeguard and perfect itself by the cleansing and fortifying of its creative source—the inner life of man.*

The question which we asked a while ago, whether we can discover in history any values that should serve as a standard by which to guide the course of human society, finds a general answer here. Whatever develops and expands the total life of man, that is his true life, his inner life, as we have been using these words. In this principle we may find, so far as our discussion has taken us, a definite and permanent value and standard for our guidance. Not any one standard, of course, can exhaust our possibilities. Beauty of form and thought, for example, is one of the first contributions of ancient Greece—a great good and lasting value certainly. But by the side of it were a lack of humaneness in the moral order and a deficiency in wisdom in the political order. In mediæval Europe there were again beauty, colour, imaginative splendour. But along with these went cruelty and intolerance. With ourselves there is much charity, but a defect of beauty; growing political control but decreasing freedom; intense development industrially but slackness spiritually. If civilization implies, as unquestionably it does, an

effort to make outer circumstance correspond with inner life, no adequate and rounded civilization is possible without a proportionately perfect inner life. To aspire to the one demands first a concern for the other. Upon no other foundation can a philosophy of history acceptable to the human spirit possibly be established.

Pressing our inquiry still further we seem to be abundantly supported by history in holding: (4) *That no political forms, not even democracy, can of themselves ensure and preserve a civilization which at all meets our aspirations. We conclude then that only a society consisting of the largest possible number of developed Persons can achieve the civilization that we desire.*

The last word of history, as it should be of philosophy, is Person. The last word of tyranny, whether autocratic or democratic tyranny, is the Mass, a drilled, regimented, anonymous Mass. All government tends to suppress the person, because the perpetual temptation of government is Power. On the other hand a society of undeveloped human beings tends in the same direction, because the perpetual temptation of spiritually immature man is Impulse or Passion. The chief misfortunes of history have proceeded from these two sources—the despotism of cunning rulers and the despotism of passionate and intolerant factions. There is no hope for a civilization that shall strive for the highest values unless we can bring into existence a community of Persons who will be equally vigilant against the tyranny which resides in the halls of state and the tyranny that forever lives in the fierce passions of the undisciplined heart.

Passing now into the region of moral philosophy but with historical data always in our hands for guidance, we come to this fairly obvious consideration: (5) *That the discipline which creates developed Persons consists initially in a sense of right, a love of liberty, and a reverence for intelligence.* This I say is obvious, for how else could personality arise? When, however, we speak of a sense of right, we do not mean mere practices, observances, or rigour in regimentation. These things have often, perhaps usually, gone hand in hand with the most deplorable blindness to the greater matters of the higher law, as they did in New Testament times. We mean honour and veracity, impartial justice, a clear eye for chivalry of the spirit, a faithful heart, an unpurchased mind and soul. And when we speak of liberty we mean jealous vigilance against State omnipotence in the political order, and a large trust in the law of

freedom for human character in the spiritual order. Reverence for intelligence will demand that we shall learn the lessons of past experience as we add to it our new experience; that as we experiment socially we shall know the difference between the historical and the antiquated, so as to be guided by the one as we surrender the other; and that finally we control our ruinous impulse toward unregulated self-expression by attention to the fair forms and purifying laws of reason.

These are high requirements; there will be those who say impossible requirements. But let it be remembered that a philosophy of history does not describe the present nor even lecture to it. Its task is to make clear the values toward which the historic process is moving, and the standards by which progress is to be judged. Taking the subject so, I cannot see any other standards for civilization, if it is to advance at all, nor any other safeguards even for the preservation of what we have. Whether men accept or reject these values it is not at all the business of a philosophy of history to consider. All that it says is, if men do accept them they may have confidence in the increasing nobleness of corporate life; and if they reject them they might as well make open confession that they are unworthy of that nobleness.

The importance of these spiritual foundations of civilization may be seen from this further conclusion, again indisputably warranted by history: (6) *That since industrial civilization tends to mechanize man and populous democracies tend to stereotype him, the more urgent is the need for a systematic spiritual training and inspiration which will personalize him.*

This is too clear to need comment. The fundamental truth of a philosophy which is even respectable is that civilization must rest on persons—persons in the full sense of the word. But both in industry as we have it, and in political and social habits as we shall probably long continue to have them, there is a notorious tendency to confine and restrict personality, to fix it in a narrow routine of conformity. Unless there is some institution which in order to balance these tendencies, takes personality, character, spirit, for the great end of its endeavour, what can we expect but an increasing weakness of that which should be our central strength?

Our final conclusion, based once more on history and given form by legitimate reflection is this: (7) *That the individual person has an*

urging toward union with the whole world of persons; and that therefore civilization should in some wise manner explain and fulfil this desire, which in religious language is called love.

Speculatively this is easy to see; practically it may perhaps be the most difficult of all problems. For it means bringing into some manner of union the one and the many, local and universal loyalties, widely different cultures, races, temperaments, and traditions. Sentimentality will be of no help to us here; on the contrary it will be mischievous. For sentimentality is always uncritical, unhistorical and mechanical, never discerning, nor responsible, nor spiritual. It would ignore indelible variations and control intractable Nature by formula and phrase. It would expect representative government from people lately emerged from a tribal state; or forgive crime because it is "the people" who commit it; or aim at the dead level of a world-state governing all men by abstract formula. The noble word "love" is in danger of degradation because loose minds use it as a cover for nonsense of this kind. A true co-operative union of the race, a sound fraternal love of our brethren everywhere will work for a unity which does not destroy but perfects the units, does not cancel evolution but gives it a spirit and a goal. That is, we are to hold that there exists for all men a destiny which makes them one family, and that part of the richness of this destiny consists in the diverse contributions which the several members, helped by one another, may bring to the common life of the race.

This is what is meant by the sense of unity felt in a world of diversified persons. But something more is meant. We cannot get the full significance of this sentiment of oneness out of any mere herd feeling that arises from biological kinship. As we cannot understand the individual man until biology is crowned with personality, so we are unable to comprehend the brotherhood of all men until the ideals and values that constitute this brotherhood are secured in a spiritual existence as objective as our own personality itself. Only so can the feeling of fraternity pass from sentiment and temperament into a fundamental law and essential aim of life. If human unity is not rooted in universal life through our common participation in ideals which are not our fancy but our authority and destiny, then ours is the tragic fate of possessing souls though the universe which produced us has none. But since it would be sombre delusion to think so, there can be no true philosophy of history which does not

relate man to universal life and law, and from that sublime relation derive his unity and make rational his ideal of love.

Let us end here our reflections upon the data that historic experience presents to our analysis. They amount to this, that the final factor in history should be the chief foundation of a philosophy of history, and this factor is not institutions but the creator of institutions, the human Person; and secondly, that just as religions may be most searchingly judged by the conception they have of their ultimate reality, namely God, so states and civilizations may be most accurately appraised by their manner of dealing with their ultimate subject, namely man as Person.

We turn to Christianity then with this key in our hand. We shall not of course expect to find in Christian teaching theories of government, nor speculations upon the forms of the social structure. If we found such things there we might at once dismiss Christianity from our minds as providing a philosophy of civilization. For in that event it would be proved to be concerned with the transient and not the permanent elements of history; it would be a system of opportunism rather than of principle. But if we discover in this religion our most complete and noble teacher of the meaning of personality and our most profound instructor in the significance of a community of persons, then we shall have vindicated for it the great title of *magistra gentium*—the interpreter to men of what their earthly history means and is worth.

As we take up this inquiry let us say at once that Christianity possesses by default, even if it had no better ground, the office of supreme teacher of personality in the modern world. Philosophy has to a very large extent surrendered the right to aspire to this rank; physical science cannot be a candidate for it, because the necessary object and method of the sciences confine them to processes and laws rather than to values and ideals; and as for political and juristic science, it seems to us to be at present facing in quite another direction.

The reason why philosophy has for a long time been a precarious safeguard for the rights of personality need take but few words. Philosophy has largely abandoned its greatest tradition, which dates from Plato and Aristotle, to whom the supreme reality in the universe was Thought and Mind. Many of the modern thinkers whose word has carried farthest have taught us that the cosmos, while

magnificent in magnitude and perfect in regularity, is still too paltry to have in it a spirit which can answer ours; or, if it has one, we are too paltry to know it. That in brief is what materialism and agnosticism come to. It means that while evolution is marvellously successful at its lowest, it is desolately bankrupt at its highest. For if the soul of man is the only isolated thing in the universe, transcendent in its aspirations but with no Transcendent to account for or satisfy it, then our highest powers are our worst delusions; and the human spirit, mysteriously luminous for a moment, finds in its ideals not the promise of day, but a transient interruption of everlasting night.

Philosophy, and also psychology which is sometimes covered with the mantle of philosophy, have gone a long way along this road. We seem to be nearing the end of what it will not, I hope, be too harsh to call a terrible aberration. But whether the repentance be near or far, at all events we cannot look with assurance for a philosophy of history to a teaching so insecure in the conviction of the supremacy of personality—a conviction without which history can never be understood, nor its ideals given due authority, nor its crimes corrected with adequate chastisement.

If in this universe there is a final defeat for souls, the highest thing in the universe that we immediately know, then for my part I am convinced that a philosophy of human history can never be more than a complimentary phrase. For, as we said in the beginning, philosophy means relating the part to the whole. But if there is no whole to which the person of man can be related in fit and congenial kinship, where is the ground for the philosophy? The best we could then have would be pragmatic rules for making the best of an existence which in its totality is indifferent to all our efforts, and sweeps them after our episode of fret and fever, into extinction. I do not blame—quite the contrary—the earnest exhortations that we hear so often to make the best of the episode, even if it is so pitifully isolated. But the name of “philosophy” I am bound to deny to them, if there is such a thing in strict speech as philosophy at all.

Christianity then stands alone in the rigour and consistency of its teaching of the human person. It is the most magnificent defiance that exists to the “weariness, senility, and loss of spiritual power,” which Spengler says threaten advanced civilization to-day. The

human spirit, says Christianity, is not isolated in the universe. It is not an unaccountable product of something non-spiritual which is itself unaccountable. It is the creation of a Supreme Spirit, and because of our likeness to that Spirit we know and are bound to serve the transcendent ideals of our nature, which are the kingdom of God and the vocation of man—Truth for the mind, Right for the conscience, Love and Beauty for the heart. Thus we are given ideals for which alone the human Person can fitly live; and these ideals are given an objective existence which alone can link them to a rational universe and confer upon them the authority of a final purpose.

So we arrive at the following Christian statement of the meaning of life and history:

Since the individual is the final unit of humanity, the Kingdom of God must begin within; since the individual is one in nature with others of his kind in a social and historic whole, the Kingdom of God must be extended without; and since the individual is related to the principle of totality in the universe, the Kingdom of God must be completed above.

Some such expression as this gives, I think, the substance of what we mean when we say that Christianity is our noblest philosophy of history. In the light of it history is seen to be not merely a happening, but a happening under adequate law; not merely a process, but a process toward a goal. At last the personality which was lost when made a function of mechanism is saved by being made a concrete purpose of a Transcendent Spirit; and History, which can become a true science only when its subject, Man, is made a true Person, acquires a standard and a method fit for that subject and his experience.

We must now take a further step. To make personality the key to the meaning of time might conceivably result in an irrational optimism and an enormous egoism. There have been religious vagaries that have done and are doing precisely this. The characteristic mark of them is the ignoring of responsibility and transgression. They have a feeble understanding of moral experience and hence no profound or authoritative word in presence of the wrongs of history. True Christianity is saved from this sentimentality because of its doctrine of sin. The symbol of Christianity is the cross, for ever to remind us of the malignity of wrong, and of the costliness and glory of the victory which is won over wrong by the divinity of right. In

this sense at least History is a process of redemption. From two evils of the historic order, we said, man is to be redeemed if his history is to have a moral meaning—the evils of outer and of inner tyranny. Both degrade the human Person. But our view of this degradation will be lax if our view of the Person is low. Hence we come to the following propositions which constitute another contribution of Christianity to a philosophy of history. (1) The deepest basis of liberty is not laws and institutions but reverence for the worth of the human person. (2) The essence of tyranny consists in ignoring this worth and denying the reverence that springs from it. (3) As we cannot have a Person at all unless we redeem man from a mechanism which has no soul, so we cannot have a Person perfected unless we redeem man from the inner and outer servitude which profanes a soul. Wrong therefore calls for retribution from that same universe of spirit in which man finds fulfilment. History cannot move to a spiritual end unless the crimes of history are punished by the Transcendent Spirit who constitutes that end. (4) Thus Liberty, as belonging to the dignity of souls, advances into the divine order; crime is brought into the presence of the Vindicator of Right; and humanity's historic struggle for perfection is neither an illusion nor an irrational restlessness, but a progressive actualizing of the inexhaustible possibilities of spirit under the imperative of duty.

Once more Christianity may well ask what conception of the meaning of history equals this. Every materialistic theory for ever fails by its inability to relate man as a spiritual person to a universal principle. But if man is not so related he is the single exception to a universe of law. He cannot, however, be such an exception if it *is* a universe of law. And when related to a spiritual principle, as he must be, he and his history find a vocation, an authority, an incomparable inspiration and a worthy end. Biology passes into history with the Person, and the Person rises into the ideal at the call of God, the objective ground and reason of the ideal. A law fit for bodies guided the preparatory stages of the physical order. Now a law fit for souls shows the way to the transcendent—and the most perfect expression of this law is the faith that comes from Christ. History then is the temporal stage of an eternal process, whose subject is man, and whose object is God. As this is realized the mechanizing of man in industry or the stereotyping of him in democracies will become in principle, and progressively in act,

impossible. Mechanized to a great extent we all must be if we are to exist in physical bodies and retain the industries that supply our physical needs. Stereotyped also we must in a measure be if we live in orderly societies. But once we understand the Person as the supreme value of time and the centre of worth and value that go beyond time, the mechanism will be relieved by humaneness and the stereotyping by a noble liberty. This, however, will be accomplished mainly by a teaching that can give solid reasons for considering man as supreme upon the earth; and this Christianity alone adequately provides. Happiness is the chief release from mechanism; chivalrous independence the greatest cure for fixity and monotony. Christianity, which at once illuminates the highest faculties and the humblest duties, which leads man to lonely audience with the Most High, and makes life an adventure in eternity, opens as no other hand can do the gates of elevating happiness and safe and responsible freedom. Where else can philosopher or historian discover an equal radiance to dispel the darkness in which men tear one another and go mad?

A word will suffice upon the sense of the unity of the race, which deepens as humanity advances. This, we said, is called in religious language "love." Neither in that sense of unity nor in the love which spiritually expresses it, is there anything in true Christianity which is sentimental or unhistorical. It does not mean mechanical dead-levelling; nor senseless assertions that things are equal which manifestly are not equal; nor any violence done to the permanent diversities which show forth the rich fecundity of nature. The race is one by no lower unity of outward features but by a higher unity of inward spirit and immortal destiny. Humanity is a world of Persons and commonwealth of souls. As such it is to be raised into the Kingdom of God through the vocation of all men to serve and love eternal ideals and the eternal Spirit who manifests Himself through them. Because of this place in the infinite order, the world of Persons gives sublime and awful meaning to our obligation to serve it. Each of us is bound in a two-fold unity, first with God, secondly with all other men in the fellowship of personality, of which God is transcendent sovereign and immanent life. To grow in this double communion is virtue; to shatter either is sin. Whoever therefore calls falsehood truth; whoever practises cruelty for profit; whoever makes injustice a step in his ambition; whoever sacrifices

conscience to party ; whoever even tries to serve a good end by base means, does something more than an unpleasant personal act. He sins against the commonwealth of souls. He breaks the bond of unity in the spiritual fellowship of persons. He infects history by defiling the unseen sources which make history a transaction of spirit. In this manner true Christianity assures human fraternity, and fitly condemns crimes against it, by seeing the spiritual above the biological and by relating history to the eternal consummations of temporal acts.

Finally there is this unique prerogative in Christianity as a philosophy of history, that it not only proposes to history the profoundest principles and the highest values, but shows these as perfectly embodied in an historical Person. In Jesus of Nazareth we have history, for He lived among us; and we have the meaning of history also, for in Him we see incomparably that working of the eternal Spirit in the world of time, which we have all along been saying is the inmost significance of history. Supreme principle lived in a Supreme Person—this is the bestowal of the Christian religion upon men who would understand life and how to live it. It is the richest bestowal they could have. For philosophies may be paper-programmes; exhortations may be words remote from life; speculation is haunted by the danger of ending in a paralysis of power. But One who has lived and died divinely, and shown in life as well as precept to individuals and societies the way that leads to a Transcendent, for ever condemns the recreance of souls and states, and leaves a shining path to the Perfection which is the end of history. The noblest value of history, says Christianity, is the kingdom of the spirit as Jesus taught it; and the highest factor of history is life as He lived it.

We end by reminding our readers that we have spoken all along of the Christian religion, that is to say, the eternal idea at the heart of it, and of the churches only as they are really the embodiment of the idea. For these churches the task remains of representing more richly the majesty and authority, the simplicity and beauty, the height of wisdom as well as the depth of love, which make the Christian Gospel the richest possession of civilization and the noblest solution of the meaning of life and time.

CHAPTER XXX

CHRISTIANITY AS A WAY OF LIFE

BY THE REV. W. RUSSELL MALTBY, M.A.

How does Christianity teach men to live? In love—God's love for man, and man's answering love for God.

THE civilization which our time has inherited is profuse in its gifts beyond all measure or precedent. Not only is there far more wealth than in former times, but the power of wealth is extraordinarily increased. When the mind travels back to the simplicity of old, we wonder whether it was then worth anyone's while to take the trouble of getting rich. In patriarchal times, a man might have a thousand camels. If he grew richer, he might have two thousand, but the mere accumulation of camels seems a poor objective for a man's toil. Yet there was little else that he could do, for there were few ways in which he could either spend or store his wealth. But in the twentieth century, a man with but three hundred pounds a year can command comforts, pleasures, distractions, sensations, changes of scene and abode, for which the kings of the earth in old time would have given their crowns. We have a master-key to the sealed chambers of Nature's treasure-house. Applied science takes up each new discovery and makes it marketable, and year by year, some new gift puts another range of experience within our reach.

But we have all this "with tribulations." It is acknowledged on all hands that there is a sickness in society. The social discontent is more restless and more universal than any now living can remember. Carpenter's title "Civilization, Its Cause and Cure" seemed at one time more like a jest than a challenge. The humour of it makes us uneasy now, for the challenge comes home. Those rich gifts of civilization have been largely unblessed to our age, because they were received with too little reverence, and shared with too little



COMING FROM CHURCH.

By ADOLF ARIZ.

(The Association of the Corporation of Glaciers.)

regard to justice. It is something gained that the old religious indictment of the world is in part admitted, though the Christian diagnosis, tracing the malady as it does to deeper causes than the generality of men trouble themselves with, may be disputed. At any rate, the modern world is dissatisfied and afraid. It is seeking for a new way of life—almost advertising for it. Critics of organized religion do not nowadays complain that they do not like its way of life, but that they cannot see in it any conspicuous advance upon the conventional code which has been discredited.

The question is already raised in some earnest minds, whether the Christian way is not after all the ascetic way, or at least some modification of it. There are indeed not many advocates in our day of the ascetic ideal, but there are probably many who are haunted by the notion that it is the nobler way, if only they had strength to pursue it. Yet this is a demoralizing way of living, and it involves a misconception of the Christian religion, and indeed, as we believe, of the character of God. Is the body the natural enemy of the soul, and is man's earthly environment always at issue with his spiritual good? The long tradition of asceticism answers that it is, but it gives no answer to the question why Infinite Love ordained it so. If, on the other hand, we deny that the visible world is merely hostile or treacherous, neither can the religious man write it off as neutral. Jesus taught the true alternative—that the world is sacramental. Since God is speaking through it, the Christian way is not to be suspicious of it, but to lay oneself open to its beauty and truth and prove it friendly and hospitable.

So also in relation to society, the Christian way is not the ascetic way. If the Christian is required to accept the material world reverently as God's world, he must accept also his fellow-men, and with still greater reverence. Christianity has not always been so understood. Many devoted men, seeking emancipation, seeking the truth, seeking God, have turned their backs upon their fellows in order the better to pursue their quest, but they did not learn this way from Jesus. On the contrary, He surveyed the whole "secular" life (as men have miscalled it) with extraordinary sympathy and insight, and sends us back to our fellow-men, assuring us that we shall find Him, and find our true selves, in the habitable parts of the earth where His children are.

If it were otherwise, we should be forced to the dismal conclusion

that the Christian religion might still be a City of Refuge for the few, but could have no message for the modern world as a whole. The gifts of civilization have arrived and we cannot send them back if we would. We must accept this rich and complicated social order with its problems. There is a place in the Christian ethic for renunciation, and of this something will be said later; but Christianity if it follows the way of Christ will not entrench itself in a corner of life, and look out, weapon in hand, on "the busy world through the loopholes of retreat." It will not be known by its schedule of forbidden interests or by the strain of its concentration upon purely "spiritual" things. Its task is to teach men to venture on a full life, responding eagerly to the divine significance of a lovable humanity, in a sacramental world, under a knowable God. It will be at home in all the rooms of God's house. Christians will not then be suspicious of the scientist, because they know that this world is God's world and they have made friends with facts, nor uneasy with the poet, because they know beauty to be God's garment, nor with the dramatist or the novelist who studies the ways of men, because the lives of men are full of the meanings of God.

This is a nobler ideal than the ascetic scheme, but if it is taken seriously, it will be found more difficult. It means that a Christian has a right to all the interests that he can compass, but always on the strict condition that he can *integrate* them, and make them contributory to his master-purpose, so that he may be a man and not a mob, and his life a progress and a dedication.

The Christian life is therefore (1) a disciplined life. This may involve renunciation in one way or another, though it does not mean renunciation for renunciation's sake. There is moral passion in Christ's warning that we must cut off our right hand and pluck out our right eye, if either of them escape control and lead us into sin. "It is better to enter into life one-eyed than having two eyes to be cast into hell." This does not mean that God prefers one-eyed men, but it does mean that we have no right to anything, not even to our own eyes, if we cannot bring them under the one supreme loyalty to Him and to holiness.

This same rule of discipline and integration should make us suspicious of the multiplication of the accessories of life, until we become their dependants, confused in our direction, and hindered

in our march by the weight of our *impedimenta*. Christ's warnings about the deceitfulness of riches are so repeated and so severe that every rich man is at least compelled to "show cause." He has something to explain, at any rate, to himself, and he must have assurances in the court of his own conscience that he is master, not servant, of his possessions.

This is not merely a question for the rich. Few things make so instant an impression on the modern mind as the example of a man who does not care much for money, or the things which money can buy, and who will let it go past him on occasion, without thinking he is doing anything wonderful: and the world of to-day, drifting as it is into a deeper idolatry of money, greatly needs living witnesses to the Christian truth that "few things are needful" and that there can be abundance of life without abundance of possessions.

The Christian life is also (2) a responsible life. Those who believe that the world is God's world and is provided for His children will not seize the world as if it were theirs, to do what they please or what they can with it. If we are not required to renounce the world to save our souls, neither are we permitted to raid the world to serve our appetites. We can do nothing without making use of the toil and skill of those who went before us, and the labour of those about us; and the rewards of labour are so arbitrarily divided, that no one can say that what he possesses is really his, except with reservations and under conditions. The question of the use of money recurs here. Even if luxury had no moral dangers of the kind we have referred to, there would still remain the consideration that we are members of a family and that many of them are in want. Those who have money are so gratefully received when they set out to spend it, that it is almost more than human if they do not consider themselves benefactors; yet, of course, every expenditure of money is a call on the service of some of our fellows, and the irresponsible spending of money on what we happen to want may be making exorbitant demands on the community. Nothing is more certain than that the Christian way of life involves a new conscience which will re-examine the accepted standards of living and scrutinize every tempting advance in personal expenditure, and all this in the light of our place in the family of God's children.

The Christian way of life includes (3) *reverence*—not only the reverence toward God which finds expression in public worship and

the intimate communion of private prayer, but that reverent conduct of life, as finding ourselves on holy ground, and aware that all our human relationships and the tasks that are given us to do have significance more sacred and precious than we can ever know in this life. Knowing that our glimpses of these deeper meanings are glimpses of the good and perfect will of God, we stand reverently before life and our fellows, making our service to them a part of our worship of God.

These are high demands and they are the Christian demands. Nevertheless, the specific Christian contribution to a new way of life is not to be found in its demands, even though these be higher and its laws more spiritual than the moralist would dare to propose. Indeed, all the great religions, at their best, tend to a common ethic, and this ought to be so. So far from admitting it grudgingly, we ought to proclaim it gladly as a sign that God has never left men without the power to discern what is good. What is unique in Christianity is that its theology and its ethics make one organic whole, a spiritual unity in which our relations with God are seen to be inseparable from our relations with men, and our dealings with our fellows are inspired and determined by God's dealings with ourselves. This vital union brings an immense moral reinforcement to the help of our disorganized and weakened natures, putting them under the free constraint of a dominating motive, great enough to command our entire allegiance. This interaction of our communion with God and our life among men is a main theme of the New Testament. It is, however, so easily assented to and so little believed, that it calls for some attention.

To begin with, it was especially the teaching of Jesus Himself. "Freely ye have received," He said to His disciples, "freely give," and in a hundred different ways He gave them to understand that this was the gracious but inexorable rule of all God's dealings with us. Those who show mercy "obtain mercy," for God's mercy itself, entering the heart, stagnates and corrupts unless it finds an outlet into the life of the world. In the Lord's prayer we are taught to ask from God for such forgiveness as we give to others, and lest any should think that this does not mean what it says, or that God will hardly take us at our word, it is said over again more explicitly. Those who forgive are forgiven; those who do not forgive are not forgiven, because in truth the unforgiving heart cannot receive

forgiveness. We hear the parable of the servant who took his fellow-servant by the throat for a trivial debt, when he had himself come straight from the quittance of a vast one, and we are left in no doubt what God and man must think of that kind of behaviour. Yet when we have decided that the miscreant should be chastised with scorpions, we discover that the lash is for our own back.

We cannot quarrel with our neighbour and keep our peace with God. Therefore at our most devotional hour, or in the midst of the most sacred dealings with God, we must interrupt our worship if need be, at the remembrance of some estrangement, leave the altar, first be reconciled to our brother and then come back to offer our gift. In the parable-drama of the Last Judgment, when all men and the quality of their deeds are made known for exactly what they are, one single test suffices. The test is sympathy. To be in a world where human need cries out for help, and not to hear, not to see, not to help—this is with Jesus the damning sin. It is to miss the whole meaning of life and the end for which we were sent into the world. And our Lord goes on to tell us that this way of judging takes all men by surprise, because none of them realized how intimately He was involved in the life and struggle of every human soul. "Inasmuch as ye did it, or did it not, unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it, or did it not, unto Me."

In the current religion of our Lord's time, the daily life was cumbered with religious prohibitions and regulations, intended to remind men of what was due to God and to protect His honour; and there were always sufficient ecclesiastical police to report any breaches of the Court etiquette and to collect the appointed fines. Jesus usually paid little attention to all this tithing of the pepper and the salt, but among the few things which roused His anger, was the setting-up of supposed claims of God—on the Sabbath for instance—against the needs of humanity—in other words, dividing religion from life. Our human fashion, learned perhaps from Kings' Courts, has been to classify sins by reference to the person against whom they were committed. An assault upon a king is high treason and beheading, but an assault upon a beggar leaves the option of a fine. So, some theologians, regarding sin as of the nature of *lèse-majesté*, have argued that it had an infinite guilt and deserved an infinite punishment because it was committed against an Infinite Being. But this is not the way in which our Lord argues. It is

when He is speaking of those who hurt and hinder the little people who cannot take care of themselves that He startles us by the severity of His language. "The millstone round the neck" is for the man who harms the helpless.

Passages such as we have mentioned are sufficient to show how precarious is the attempt to distinguish between the theology of Jesus and His social teaching. The two were not separable in His mind, and those who first learned of Him speak after His manner. The New Testament writers were not of course occupied with what we call social problems, for there were few or none upon their horizon. Indeed, they had scarcely begun to think out the relations between themselves and their non-Christian neighbours, because they were occupied almost exclusively with the new Brotherhood and the relations of its members with each other. It was enough for the time being that they should build aright the new divine society which should be the prophecy and pledge of a regenerated world; but within these limits, their teaching could not have been more explicit.

The most emphatic reproduction of the new law that our relations with men are part of our relations with God is to be found in the first Epistle of St. John. The writer returns again and again to his theme as if he could not leave it. He puts it persuasively, "Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God." He puts it mystically, "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God." He puts it practically, "Whoso hath the world's goods and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" He puts it bluntly, "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar." And He concludes, "This commandment have we from Him, that he who loveth God, love his brother also."

The preoccupation of these New Testament writers is with the revelation of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they had no ethic apart from their background of doctrine. Indeed, the word "background" is inadequate, for when they are expounding their doctrine they are carried into ethics, and when they are enforcing the new social ethics they cannot leave their doctrine behind. Those who are aware how easily doctrine and ethics, belief and conduct, fall asunder, and how, when the logical connection has been re-established for the thousandth time, it parts again as soon

as the logician's back is turned, must find in this testimony of the apostolic age an historical fact of capital importance. How came these men *not* to put asunder what God has joined?

The answer is that Christianity is in the first place a Gospel. It is not God's demand on men, but God's gift to men. It is grace, not law. It tells men what God is, what God has done and is doing for our succour. It shows us where we may find Him and verify in personal communion what we have heard. Christians therefore are supposed to be people who have authentic dealings with God. With them the religious consciousness is no longer something vast and vague, but vivid and personal, and its characteristic word is fellowship. A Christian finds his peace and well-being in the infinite kindness of God, which has so taken hold of him that it changes his whole frame of mind, awakens an answering kindness in himself, and opens his eyes to see his brother. This miracle should not be unintelligible to us, for we have some human analogies to help our understanding. Those who have known how the reconciliation of friends after long estrangement suddenly annuls some profound inhibition, releases fresh moral power, proclaims a feast through all the chambers of the mind, and carries us out of ourselves, should be better able to understand how the divine reconciliation, if it can be matter of experience, should be like a new birth. It is not too much to say that the sense of God's forgiveness, experienced by simple people, does more in a single day to banish resentment, create good-will and sweeten homes, than all the counsels of moralists in a generation.

This invasion of the realm of conduct by great incentives derived from the facts of the Christian faith may be watched in the classic documents of the early Church. It is matter of history that one of the first effects of Pentecost was to bring the early Church into an extraordinary intimacy and feeling for one another, which constrained them to throw their private possessions into a common stock. The economists have their own opinion about the wisdom of that experiment, but the really significant thing is that those people *wanted* to do it; and it must be admitted that all our industrial and international problems would be much more tractable if every man wanted to share what good he had, and only desired to know the wisest way of doing it.

But we may take lowlier instances. Those early Christians did not

always find it easy to get on with one another. There was a dispute between two women at Philippi—no doubt about nothing much—but the apostolic way of dealing with the situation is significant: “If there is any ground of appeal in our common experience of Christ, if there is any argument that love can use to persuade, if there is a fellowship that only the Spirit can give, then . . . *be of the same mind.*” The most noble statement of the Incarnation breaks in unexpectedly upon an exhortation to humility and mutual respect (Phil. ii. 5), and one of the most beautiful references to the same great fact occurs, again almost incidentally, in the announcement of a collection. “You know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that you through his poverty might become rich.”

This way of confronting the frictions and cleavages of human intercourse with the greatest facts of the Christian faith is a unique contribution to social ethics. It lifts the common occasions of life out of their deadening littleness. It widens the horizons, and discloses an unseen environment. It throws upon a commonplace occasion while it is yet with us the beauty and significance which ordinarily we do not see till the lapse of years has removed it from our power and brought too late a sense of proportion and a long regret.

This was the way in which Christianity attacked what we should call the minor faults which threatened the peace of the Church. But when it had to deal with the darker sins of a pagan environment its method was still the same. The most lawless passions of the flesh were fought, not with counsels of expediency, not with rules and penalties, not with authority and supervision, but with the subduing facts of Redemption—with the Incarnation, the Cross, the Resurrection, and the manifest presence of the Holy Spirit.

The programme of the Christian way of life, therefore, is addressed to men who have been superlatively energized by contact with certain great realities, by nothing less than a new entrance of God into their consciousness. The Christian morality does indeed shine in its own light, even for those who do not share the faith on which it is based, and it affects the thoughts and ways of men, and the customs and standards of society, far beyond the recognized boundaries of Christianity. But it never professes to be a practicable morality, except for those who enjoy the resources which it pre-

supposes. This awareness of God as befriending and succouring and communing with those who respond to Him, changed every moral problem. When a language had to be found for it, they did the best they could. They said it was like being born again; it was like being dead and buried and raised from the dead; it was like passing from slavery to a place in the family, from darkness to light, and so forth. But, of course, it would be all this and more if the facts were as the Christian witness declares, and of course, also, such an experience would make men equal to quite new moral demands. A world so evidently in need of more justice and more sympathy, more public spirit and more self-control, more of the patience which can wait, as well as the energy which can strive, cannot dismiss as irrelevant the testimony that there are such moral reserves available.

It is impossible to make such claims for the Christian religion without provoking the reply that this may be ideal Christianity, but not Christianity as it has shown itself in history. Such an objection has too much truth in it for it to be ignored. There have been times when Christianity was glorious, and times when it was feeble, conventional, or corrupt. Of the Christianity of some periods we should be obliged to say that if *that* was the Christian religion it had nothing to offer to the modern world. It might seem more reasonable to strike some kind of average through the centuries and treat the average as the norm. But this will not do. The law of averages does not hold here. Since the Christian religion does not override our moral freedom, and cannot do any mighty works except on the condition of a free personal response, it follows that the Christian experience may be indefinitely impoverished, first in the individual, and then in the Christian society, until it shames its origin and is scarcely recognizable as Christian at all. This has happened in the past, and no guarantee can be given that it will not happen again. Yet through these intervals of decline in the thought and conduct of men Christianity itself remains true, if it ever was true, and the realities from which it took its rise, by which alone it lives, are still there. And when the spirit of man, wearied of its illusions, comes to itself again, these divine realities assert themselves, History being witness, and the miracle of renewal takes place once more.

There is yet another truth to which Christianity bears witness and which affects profoundly the Christian way of life. There have

been gains and losses in the religious thinking of the last two generations, but amongst the most serious losses must be reckoned the decline in the sense of the eternal. Christians through all generations have always declared that this life, with all its wonder, is the preliminary to another. None of the great Christians of other times would have thought religion worth arguing about if it did not promise this. All that has been believed about a God and Father of all men, all the patience under the cost and travail of the human story, all the reverence for the human personality which men have learned, and cannot unlearn, even when the foundation for it seems to have gone, the secret persuasion that some great purpose beyond this life is here in progress—its instruments the things of time and sense, its aim the infinite good of men—all this is mere delirium if our little earthly stage is all there is, and what is frustrate here is frustrate for ever. Fifty years ago in England religious and irreligious people took immortality for granted. This is largely changed.

It has been said that the Church lost hell forty years ago, and heaven followed ten years later. No doubt the old conceptions needed to be changed, but to be silent on the subject was not a courageous solution. There are those who think this was no loss, and others who consider it was a change for the better. In the view of some of them, the hope of another life was "dope," serving to keep the people quiet under their wrongs. Those who used this bitter language had some provocation, for men who are in poverty are not likely to receive gratefully the promise of blessedness in another world from the comfortable lips of people who have secured their own blessedness in this. But there has been time now to watch the results of the changed way of thinking. To inflame the wounds of society is not a step toward their cure. It may be that we have already more indignation than we know what to do with, and the redemption of society will not be accomplished by angry or by desperate men. Those who would build Jerusalem "In England's green and pleasant land" must be content to hew the stones for a temple which they may not live to see, and they need some inward serenity which does not depend on immediate success. Those whose whole stake is in this world cannot afford to be patient. The closing in of the world upon us and the concentration upon its prizes are a dangerous reinforcement of our natural selfishness and may defeat

the best attempts at social reconstruction. There was good social psychology in St. Paul's words, "We do not lose heart as long as we look, not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." If the Christian Church would serve this generation, it has no more urgent task than to restore from its own experience that sense of the eternal in which all the sanctities live and move and have their being, and apart from which religion and life wither together.

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